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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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PIERRE BISE

WHETHER THEY DERIVE THE FRENCH WORD *bis* from hypothetical forms like *bysseus, byseus, bombyceus,* Teutonic *grīsi-,* or Indo-European *bīse-,* all authorities agree in translating it by some adjective meaning grey, brown or dark in color: "d'un gris foncé," "de couleur brune," "grau, dunkel," "schwartz(braun)," "brown, tawny, swarthy," etc.[1] That darkness in color is the original connotation of the word and best reproduces its significance in most cases, there can be no doubt. But in Old French in connection with stones and rocks it seems sometimes (not always) to have acquired a secondary meaning, giving to the phrases "pierre bise," "chaillo bis," "roche bise," even "marbre bis," the implication of being not merely "grey stone," "dark pebble," etc., but some kind of hard and durable material, often granite or flint.

When Roland strikes his marvellous sword against a rock, the blade is so strong that it grates, but is not shattered or even nicked:

> *Dedevant lui ad une perre byse.*
> *.X. colps i fiert par doel e par rancune.*
> *Cruist li acers, ne freint ne ne s'esgruignet.* (ll. 2300-2302)

Or again:

> *Rollant ferit en une perre bise.*
> *Plus en abat que jo ne vos sai dire.*
> *L'espee cruist, ne fruisset ne ne brise.* (ll. 2338-2340)

This "perre byse" is called a "perrun de sardonie" in l. 2312, a material variously interpreted as sard or sardonyx, neither of which could be accurately described as dark, grey or brown.[2] Is it not clear that for the poet, who is merely concerned with indicating the strength of Durendal, his "grey rock" is something hard, irrespective of color?

Again, in Audefroi le Bâtard's romance, when Gerard reproaches Isabelle and says:[3] "...plus vos truis dure que pierre bise," he does not mean that the lady is more cruel than some indefinite kind of grey stone, but than some particularly hard kind of stone, say, flint or granite. Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie uses a similar

1. See A. Ott, *Etude sur les couleurs en vieux français,* Paris, 1899, p. 40; A. Horning, *ZRP* XXVII (1903), 347; the dictionaries of Godefroy, Tobler-Lommatzsch and Von Wartburg; Foulet's glossary to Bédier's edition of the *Chanson de Roland;* Jenkins' edition of the same poem; Breuer's *Wörterbuch* to Foerster's edition of Chrétien de Troyes; Louis H. Gray, *RR* XXXIII (1942), 157.

2. See Jenkins' note to this line and the *OED* s. v. *sard* and *sardonyx.*

3. Bartsch, *Romanzen und Pastourellen,* I, 58, l. 33.

phrase—and with like meaning—in castigating the Jews who refuse to believe in the Virgin Birth:[4]

> *... li mescreant sont plus dur*
> *Que bis chaillou enclos en mur.*

These obviously are not some vague sorts of grey pebbles, but pebbles made of flint. Perhaps it is Chrétien's Yvain who gives us the clearest indication that *chaillo bis* means flint, since he draws sparks from it:[5]

> *... tret le feu d'un chaillo bis,*
> *Si l'a de seche busche espris.*

In the dialects of Orne (Normandy) and Gy-l'Evêque (near Auxerre) we actually find such words as *biset, biseuil, biziau* meaning flint and granite.[6] France of course has many kinds of grey, brown and other dark rocks: the gneisses and schists of the Archean period, forming nearly the whole Central Plateau, the volcanic rocks of Auvergne, the Limousin and elsewhere, on the precipitous escarpments of which stand many historic castles, the various so-called marbles that extend from the Pas-de-Calais ("Napoléon gris," "Henriette brune") to the Jura and the Pyrenees, etc. However, schists split easily, volcanic rocks like basalt, etc., (which southern writers may have thought of as *bis*) are infrequent in the north, whereas marble, when intended, is specifically mentioned. Our northern poets who seem to have considered grey stones as essentially hard probably had in mind either flint—the "black, grey or brown form of hydrated silica" which is harder than steel, of which prehistoric man often fabricated his weapons, and which is widely found in the white chalks of northern France, including Champagne —or the grey granites of Normandy and elsewhere in which fragments of schist give the stone a dark color and of which Mont-Saint-Michel is a memorable example.

Of course these poets were not geologists. They were merely observant men who, seeing about them grey or other dark stone which was resistant, used phrases like *pierre bise* for any of the flinty or granitic stone that they knew. Thus the adjective *bis*, when applied to building materials, would seem to have acquired the connotation of *hard*, and the many towers, castles and fortresses in

4. *Les Joies Nostre Dame*, ed. Reinsch, in *ZRP* III (1879), 215, ll. 307-308. Of course *caillou* alone, as today, frequently means "flint," but there would be no point in this and the following example in qualifying flint as "grey," unless hardness were also implied.

5. *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, ll. 3463-3464.

6. Von Wartburg, *FEW*, s. v. **bombyceus*, II, 6.

our poems which are described as "assis sor une roche bise," as "quaré de pierre bise," or even as made of "marbre bis" are indirectly being characterized as situated on impregnable rocks or fabricated of very durable material.[7] It is not enough therefore to gloss this word in the various dictionaries as "grey, brown or dark." To speak of a lady as harder than dark stone, or of steel as so resistant that it does not break against grey rock, is obviously to do an injustice to our poets and to translate their words both weakly and inadequately. On occasion the phrase as a whole means granite, flint or some other hard, strong, durable stone.

GRACE FRANK

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7. Cf. the following examples:
Onques si rice forterece
Ne virent oel d'ome qui vive
Car sour une roce naïve
Sont les tours del castiel assis
Qui toutes sont de marbre bis. (*Perceval le gallois*, ed. Poitevin, ll. 8598 ff.)
Desus une grant roche bise
Ot sa maison molt bien asis (*Fergus*, ed. E. Martin, 1872, p. 9, ll. 18 f.)
Et par delez estoit assise
La torz sor une roche bise
Haute et tranchiee contre val (Chrétien de Troyes, *Lancelot*, 429 ff.)
Lors vit devant lui an un val
Le chief d'une tor qui parut; [of the Grail castle]...
Quaree fu de pierre bise... (Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval*, ed. Foerster-Hilka, ll. 3050 ff.)
See also *Flore u. Blanceflor*, ed. Bekker, 1844, 1391 ff. and *Jourdains de Blaivies*, ed. K. Hofmann, 1882, ll. 3633 ff.

THE VEIL OF TANIT: THE PERSONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF A WOMAN'S ADORNMENT TO GUSTAVE FLAUBERT

ANYONE WHO HAS READ *Salammbô* will recall how the great Mâtho and his friend Spendius, the crafty Greek, contrived to steal the veil of Tanit, goddess of the Moon and patroness of Carthage. Once robbed of her mysterious covering, the nude goddess was quite powerless to aid the Carthaginians against the beseiging Mercenaries. The sacred *zaïmph* was quite as important as the idol herself; all her power depended upon her remaining veiled.

The symbolism of Tanit's story provides a key to Flaubert's own life. The female deities in his life and works are all clothed figures, their contours veiled and distorted by the magic of nineteenth-century fashion. For him exist no nude deities. Woman unveiled is powerless; her charm is gone; she is no longer worthy of worship. Let her, however, but remain richly clothed before him and he will worship the smallest *friperie* of her adornment as much as the Carthaginians revered the blue veil of Tanit.

Flaubert's interest in the dress of the fair sex started very early, having its origin perhaps in a childish delight at the sight of bright colors and rich fabrics, as he tells in that charming little *œuvre de jeunesse, Novembre*:

> Vaguement je convoitais quelque chose de splendide... J'ai toujours aimé les choses brillantes. Enfant, je me poussais dans la foule, à la portière des charlatans, pour voir les galons rouges de leurs domestiques et les rubans de la bride de leurs chevaux; je restais longtemps devant la tente des bateleurs, à regarder leurs pantalons bouffants et leurs collerettes brodées. Oh! comme j'aimais surtout la danseuse de corde, avec ses longs pendants d'oreille qui allaient et venaient autour de sa tête, son gros collier de pierres qui battait sur sa poitrine! avec quelle avidité inquiète je la contemplais, quand elle s'élançait jusqu'à la hauteur des lampes suspendues entre les arbres, et que sa robe, bordée de paillettes d'or, claquait en sautant et se bouffait dans l'air; ce sont là les premières femmes que j'ai aimées. Mon esprit se tourmentait en songeant à ces cuisses de formes étranges, si bien serrées dans des pantalons roses, à ces bras souples, entourés d'anneaux qu'elles faisaient craquer sur leur dos en se renversant en arrière, quand elles touchaient jusqu'à terre avec les plumes de leur turban. La femme que je tâchais déjà de deviner (il n'est pas d'âge où l'on n'y songe...) la femme

était donc pour moi un mystère attrayant, qui troublait ma pauvre tête d'enfant.[1]

Although his child's curiosity was already trying to form a more accurate idea of just what a woman was beneath her brilliant sheath, nevertheless no one will deny that it was the very brilliance of her garments which first absorbed his attention and that if woman was to him already "un mystère attrayant", it was her costume that made of her both a mystery and an attraction!

As young Gustave grew into adolescence his childish preference for bright costumes developed into a predilection for rich fabrics and elegant dress wherever he could find them. Such being the case, he was never one to be interested in *les grisettes*[2]. He had very different ideas as to what a mistress should be:

Quant à une *maîtresse*, c'était pour moi un être satanique, dont la magie du nom seul me jetait en de longues extases: c'était pour leurs maîtresses que les rois ruinaient et gagnaient des provinces, pour elles on tissait les tapis de l'Inde, on tournait l'or, on ciselait le marbre, on remuait le monde; une maîtresse a des esclaves, avec des éventails de plumes pour chasser les moucherons, quand elle dort sur des sofas de satin; des éléphants chargés de présents attendent qu'elle s'éveille, des palanquins la portent mollement au bord des fontaines, elle siège sur des trônes, dans une atmosphère rayonnante et embaumée, bien loin de la foule, dont elle est l'exécration et l'idole.

Ce mystère de la femme en dehors du mariage, et plus femme encore à cause de cela même, m'irritait et me tentait du double appât de l'amour et de la richesse.[3]

Note that *amour* and *richesse* are placed on an equal footing as sources of temptation, for to Flaubert—as to Madame Bovary—love and luxury will always be inseparable. It is not surprising, then, that the youthful Flaubert, turning his back upon opportunities for love in ugly surroundings, should frequent the fashionable theatres and *soirées dansantes* where he could at least be thrilled by the elegance of the richly dressed ladies there to be seen:

Je n'aimais rien tant que le théâtre, j'en aimais jusqu'au bourdonnement des entr'actes, jusqu'aux couloirs que je parcourais le cœur ému pour trouver une place. Quand la représentation était déjà commencée, je montais

1. Gustave Flaubert: *Novembre*, page 164, *Œuvres de jeunesse inédites*, II, Louis Conard edition, Paris, 1910.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 246: "Et les grisettes, me direz-vous? Eh bien, non! il ne pouvait se résigner à monter dans une mansarde, pour embrasser une bouche qui vient de déjeuner avec du fromage, et prendre une main qui a des engelures."
3. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

l'escalier en courant, j'entendis le bruit des instruments, des voix, des bravos, et quand j'entrais, que je m'asseyais, tout l'air était embaumé d'une chaude odeur de femme bien habillée, quelque chose qui sentait le bouquet de violettes, les gants blancs, le mouchoir brodé; les galeries couvertes de monde, comme autant de fleurs et de diamants, semblaient se tenir suspendues à entendre chanter...[4]

Young Flaubert did not know how to dance. As a spectator at a ball he would choose himself a dream girl who then would become the companion of his reveries for some days to come—always dressed as he had seen her:

C'était surtout le lendemain de bal ou de comédie, à la rentrée d'une vacance de deux ou trois jours, que je rêvais une passion. Je me représentais celle que j'avais choisie, telle que je l'avais vue, en robe blanche, enlevée dans une valse aux bras d'un cavalier qui la soutient et qui lui sourit...; le bruit des contredanses, l'éclat des lumières résonnait et m'éblouissait quelque temps encore, puis tout finissait, par se fondre dans la monotonie d'une rêverie douloureuse. J'ai eu ainsi mille petits amours, qui ont duré huit jours ou un mois et que j'ai souhaité prolonger des siècles...[5]

Later on he had no difficulty conserving a precise remembrance of the dress and adornment of one of his ladies on any noteworthy occasion. The novels of Flaubert are strewn with pencil portraits of the heroine, complete with details as to her dress. We have only to study them a bit to see how important to him are the varied veils of his Tanit.

But first the goddess herself had to be found. The revelation took place at Trouville in the summer of 1836 when Flaubert was in his fifteenth year. Symbolically enough, it was with her silken mantle that he first made acquaintance:

Ce jour-là, une charmante pelisse rouge avec des raies noires était laissée sur le rivage. La marée montait, le rivage était festonné d'écume; déjà un flot plus fort avait mouillé les franges de soie de ce manteau de femme.[6]

That same day at noon the embarrassed young man found himself addressed by a lady who was lunching with her husband at a neighboring table; she was thanking him for his galantry in saving her mantle from the waves:

Elle me regarda.

Je baissai les yeux et rougis. Quel regard, en effet! comme elle était belle,

4. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
6. *Mémoires d'un fou, Œuvres de jeunesse inédites*, (Conard ed., Paris, 1910). I, 505.

cette femme! je vois encore cette prunelle ardente sous un sourcil noir se fixer sur moi comme un soleil. Elle était grande, brune avec de magnifiques cheveux noirs qui lui tombaient en tresses sur les épaules; son nez était grec, ses yeux brûlants, ses sourcils hauts et admirablement arqués, sa peau était ardente et comme veloutée avec de l'or; elle était mince et fine, on voyait des veines d'azur serpenter sur cette gorge brune et pourprée. Joignez à cela un duvet fin qui brunissait sa lèvre supérieure et donnait à sa figure une expression mâle et énergique à faire pâlir les beautés blondes.[7]

This wonderful raven-haired brunette was to become the prototype of all his heroines; for from this point on Flaubert is not only done with blondes, he does not even give a single sympathetic or affectionate description of any red, auburn or chestnut-haired girl or woman in all his later works. Formerly he had had some tenderness for a young English girl *aux cheveux châtains,* but henceforth there is no variation in his preference for *black* tresses. This early fixation is not surprising when one recalls that the lady of Trouville became, so to speak, *l'unique tendresse durable* in the life of Flaubert.[8]

What *is* surprising is that this impressionable adolescent in the throes of love at first sight would have observed also the technical details of her costume. One senses that he is already a connoisseur in the matter and that he would quickly have lost interest, had he not found her tastefully dressed:

Elle avait une robe fine, de mousseline blanche, qui laissait voir les contours moelleux de son bras.

Quand elle se leva pour partir, elle mit une capote blanche avec un seul nœud rose; elle la noua d'une main fine et potelée, une de ces mains dont on rêve longtemps et qu'on brûlerait de baisers.[9]

And two pages farther on we find him reduced to the point of worshipping the individual folds of her skirt: "Un rien, un pli de

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.

8. This person, called simply "Maria" in *Les Mémoires d'un fou* was none other than the famous Mme Elisa Schlésinger, inspiration for both versions of the *Education sentimentale.* Even Madame Bovary and Salammbô did not entirely escape her influence, since both have the same raven tresses.

9. *Mémoires d'un fou,* p. 506. One might object that her hand itself seems to be the chief attraction here. That is true, but it was a hand engaged in the delightfully feminine gesture of tying a bonnet. In any case, we know that Flaubert had a fondness for *gloved hands,* as he exclaims in the earlier version of the *Education sentimentale* (page 38, Conard edition): "Rien n'est joli comme un étroit gant blanc qui sort d'un gros manchon doublé de rose, tenant un mouchoir brodé bien chiffonné, bien chaud et sentant bon, rien n'est joli comme cela, lecteur, si ce n'est la main elle-même, quand elle est belle." Here again the hand itself seems to be the ultimate center of his ecstatic enthusiasm but it cannot be denied that the charm of the lady's hand is greatly enhanced by the big muff and the tight-fitting white kid glove.

sa robe ...le frôlement de ses vêtements me faisait palpiter d'aise."[10]

It will be argued perhaps that at the age of fifteen it was quite natural that Flaubert should have become so attached to these exterior adornments. However, let us not forget that the narrative itself was written two years after the events and that by this time young Gustave had had an adventure whose ugliness seems only to have enhanced the beauty of his platonic affection for "Maria": "Une femme se présenta à moi, je la pris; et je sortis de ses bras plein de dégoût et d'amertume... J'eus des remords, comme si l'amour de Maria eût été une religion que j'eusse profanée."[11]

This is the first and most short-lived of many affairs in the life of Flaubert which all lead to the same conclusion: the lady who allows herself to become completely bereft of her veil of mystery will find herself as powerless to hold her worshipper as was the unveiled Tanit to hold the adoration of the ancient Carthaginians.

As for the almost religious love for Maria which he so regrets having profaned, his remorse in this respect never seems to have reached the point of genuine repentance. However, he did profit from the first disappointing experience: always thereafter he required at least some degree of elegance. Consider an adventure he had at Marseille two years after writing *Les Mémoires d'un fou*:

> Elle avait une robe blanche, à manches courtes, elle se tenait le coude appuyé sur le rebord de la fenêtre, une main près de la bouche, et semblait regarder par terre quelque chose de vague et d'indécis; ses cheveux noirs, lissés et nattés sur les tempes, reluisaient comme l'aile d'un corbeau, sa tête était un peu penchée, quelques petits cheveux de derrière s'échappaient des autres et frisottaient sur son cou, son grand peigne d'or recourbé était couronné de grains de corail rouge.[12]

If not actually faithful to Mme Schlésinger herself, he is at least faithful to her type of beauty. The remarkable physical resemblance between this woman and the lady of Trouville would almost lead one to suppose that this chief incident of his novel *Novembre* was but an attempt on Flaubert's part to conjure up in his imagination just what an intimate scene with her might be like. Is this not what he did repeatedly in his first *Education Sentimentale?* The fact that the woman from the South wears a white dress revealing her arms—just as did Maria the first time they met—might also lend weight to this assumption. However, we know definitely that Flaubert did have such an adventure as this at Marseille in 1840,

10. *Ibid.*, p. 508.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 524-525.
12. *Novembre*, p. 198.

where he was on vacation after completing his work as a *collégien*. Could his memory then have played him false, substituting the physical details and costume of Maria for those of the girl in Marseille? Since *Novembre* was written only two years after the incident, this hardly seems probable. Rather it seems more likely that he was drawn to this woman by her very resemblance to Maria; and as for Flaubert's ever having been vague about the costume worn by any of his ladies upon any occasion, that is something which would be hard to prove. On the contrary, his memory for costumes is most precise even in this instance, for we find that young Gustave paid *two* visits to the lady in question: one in the morning when, to be sure, she wore white, but one again in the evening when she was arrayed in black satin. This dress has nothing in common with anything worn by Maria and it even seems to have played a rather important part in the adventure:

> Elle était seule, comme le matin; elle se tenait à la même place, presque dans la même posture, mais elle avait changé de robe; celle-ci était noire, la garniture de dentelle, qui en bordait le haut, frissonnait d'elle-même sur sa gorge blanche...
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sa robe de satin craquait sous mes doigts avec un bruit d'étincelles; quelquefois, après avoir senti le velouté de l'étoffe, je venais à sentir la douceur chaude de son bras nu, son vêtement semblait participer d'elle-même, il exhalait la séduction des plus luxuriantes nudités.[13]

The last paragraph is most significant. Note how the dress takes its place as a definite part of the woman's charms. It is in no sense an obstacle but rather is itself a source of delight.

But the lady of *Novembre* was too easily robbed of her veil. With it went her power of attraction and Flaubert never returned to her. For him she had ceased to be *un mystère attrayant*.

2

Continuing our scrutiny of Flaubert's more autobiographical works of fiction, let us now consider the role played by the lady's costume in the love story of Frédéric and Mme Arnoux[14]. In this version of *l'affaire Schlésinger* Flaubert has set the scene of the

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

14. As the events recorded in the first version of the *Education sentimentale* are largely apocryphal, we shall be here concerned only with the edition of 1869 whose greater historicity with regard to *l'affaire Schlésinger* is generally acknowledged. Despite the late publication date of this novel, it reflects events in Flaubert's life which took place for the most part in the 1840's.

original *coup de foudre* on a river steamer instead of at Trouville but the impression made on the hero is the same and this time his interest in her costume is even more articulate than in *Mémoires d'un fou*:

Ce fut comme une apparition:

Elle était assise, au milieu du banc, toute seule; ou du moins il ne distingua personne, dans l'éblouissement que lui envoyèrent ses yeux. En même temps qu'il passait, elle leva la tête; il fléchit involontairement les épaules; et quand il se fut mis plus loin, du même côté, il la regarda.

Elle avait un large chapeau de paille, avec des rubans roses qui palpitaient au vent, derrière elle. Ses bandeaux noirs, contournant la pointe de ses grands sourcils, descendaient très bas et semblaient presser amoureusement l'ovale de sa figure. Sa robe de mousseline claire, tachetée de petits pois, se répandit en plis nombreux. Elle était en train de broder quelque chose; et son nez droit, son menton, toute sa personne se découpait sur le fond de l'air bleu.[15]

It does not seem out of place to Flaubert to have Frédéric observe all these technical details of the lady's costume the while he was succumbing to love at first sight; rather he seems to take for granted that the daintiness and charm of the lady's dress should add to the impact of this first impression. Frédéric will not—like the common victim of Cupid's arrow—carry home with him a blurred general impression; he will have a picture complete even as to the material of her dress. Yet even so his curiosity is not satisfied:

Jamais il n'avait vu cette splendeur de sa peau brune, la séduction de sa taille, ni cette finesse des doigts que la lumière traversait. Il considérait son panier à ouvrage avec ébahissement, comme une chose extraordinaire. Quels étaient son nom, sa demeure, sa vie, son passé? Il souhaitait connaître les meubles de sa chambre, toutes les robes qu'elle avait portées, les gens qu'elle fréquentait; et le désir de la possession physique même disparaissait sous une envie plus profonde, dans une curiosité douloureuse qui n'avait pas de limites.[16]

Obviously the unknown surroundings of this elegant brunette are more important subjects of curiosity to Frédéric than her mere physical person.

From another point of view, however, Tanit and her *zaïmph* are one; Mme Arnoux, her wardrobe, her embroidery, her furniture, her friends, and her past constitute one entity rich in possibilities. For him there were to be many satisfactions in the sort of platonic in-

15. *Education sentimentale*, (Garnier Frères ed., Paris), I, 5.
16. *Ibid.*, I, 6.

timacy which he later attained when he came to be a regular caller at her house in Paris:

Il connaissait la forme de chacun de ses ongles, il se délectait à écouter le sifflement de sa robe de soie quand elle passait auprès des portes, il humait en cachette la senteur de son mouchoir; son peigne, ses gants, ses bagues étaient pour lui des choses particulières, importantes comme des œuvres d'art, presque animées comme des personnes; toutes lui prenaient le cœur et augmentaient sa passion.[17]

And the very displays in the shop windows took on new interest as he imagined their objects of elegance adorning the person of Mme Arnoux:

Il regardait le long des boutiques, les cachemires, les dentelles et les pendeloques de pierreries, en les imaginant drapées autour de ses reins, cousues à son corsage, faisant des feux dans sa chevelure noire... Dans la montre des cordonniers, les petits pantoufles de satin à bordure de cygne semblaient attendre son pied...[18]

He even amused himself imagining her arrayed in costumes of former days:

Coiffée d'un hennin, elle priait à deux genoux derrière un vitrage de plomb. Seigneuresse des Castilles ou des Flandres, elle se tenait assise, avec une fraise empesée et un corps de baleines à gros bouillons...[19]

But imagination could never duplicate the thrill of her actual presence by his side:

Elle se leva, ayant une course à faire, puis reparut avec une capote de velours, et une mante noire, bordée de petit-gris. Il osa offrir de l'accompagner.

On n'y voyait plus; le temps était froid, et un lourd brouillard, estompant la façade des maisons puait dans l'air. Frédéric le humait avec délices; car il sentait à travers la ouate du vêtement la forme de son bras; et sa main, prise dans un gant chamois à deux boutons, sa petite main qu'il aurait voulu couvrir de baisers, s'appuyait sur sa manche...[20]

He is charmed by the lady's velvet bonnet and squirrel-trimmed mantle; most of all he is thrilled by the touch of her small gloved hand on his sleeve. All the little ways a woman finds to increase her charms through concealment appeal to Frédéric and serve to make her more precious in his eyes; nevertheless they also make her more

17. *Ibid.*, I, 75.
18. *Ibid.*, I, 92.
19. *Ibid.*, I, 93.
20. *Ibid.*, I, 91.

remote: "Il ne pouvait se la figurer autrement que vêtue,—tant sa pudeur semblait naturelle, et reculait son sexe dans une ombre mystérieuse."[21] However, he could wish for a greater degree of intimacy: "Il songeait au bonheur de vivre avec elle, de la tutoyer, de lui passer la main sur les bandeaux longuement, ou de se tenir par terre, à genoux, les deux bras autour de sa taille, à boire son âme dans ses yeux!"[21] Even this hope seems unattainable to him: "Il aurait fallu pour cela, subvertir la destinée; et, incapable d'action, maudissant Dieu et s'accusant d'être lâche, il tournait dans son désir comme un prisonnier dans son cachot."[21]

Frustrated, he found consolation with the courtisane, Rosanette. Years passed and finally Frédéric was hesitating between marrying a provincial heiress with red hair and forming a *liaison* with a blonde of high social position, when unexpectedly one evening he found himself at a *soirée* with both the ladies in question and a third—Mme Arnoux. This was a situation too strong for him, for the bad taste of the red-haired girl and the pale beauty of the blonde contrasted so unfavorably with the dark elegance of Mme Arnoux that he could not do otherwise than return to her. This time he attained a somewhat closer friendship with her and when in summer she was living alone in a small house in Auteuil, the two had long tête-à-têtes together:

> Ces discours n'embrassaient, d'habitude, que les années de leur fréquentation. Il lui rappelait d'insignifiants détails, la couleur de sa robe à telle époque, quelle personne un jour était survenue, ce qu'elle avait dit une autre fois; et elle répondait tout émerveillée:
> —"Oui, je me rappelle!"[22]

It is unfortunate from the point of view of this study that most of the details of the lady's former costumes should have been too "*insignifiants*" to record but apparently they were not insignificant to Frédéric or he would not have remembered them so well. Indeed, anything Mme Arnoux had ever worn would be as sacred to him as a holy relic. Consider his anguish at the auction sale which took place at her home in Paris when her husband went bankrupt:

> Ensuite, on vendit ses robes, puis un de ses chapeaux dont la plume cassée retombait, puis ses fourrures, puis trois paires de bottines; — et le partage de ces reliques, lui semblait une atrocité, comme s'il avait vu des corbeaux déchiquetant son cadavre...[23]

21. *Ibid.*, I, 94.
22. *Ibid.*, II, 96.
23. *Ibid.*, II, 287.

Let us pass to the last incident of the book.[24]

Frédéric has completed his sentimental education, losing most of his illusions en route. Only one great illusion remains unsullied—that of his love for Mme Arnoux. And see now she enters his study after twenty years' separation! They look at one another, sit down, talk, finally go out for a walk before the lighted shop-windows. It is like old times. But on returning to Frédéric's apartment, Mme Arnoux takes off her hat, the lamp-light glints on her hair, it has turned white! Frédéric, shocked at what the years have done to his beloved *bandeaux noirs*, tries to hide his disappointment by dropping to his knees beside her chair, where, almost without thinking, he begins to repeat the old *tendresses*.

Frédéric, se grisant par ses paroles, arrivait à croire ce qu'il disait. Mme Arnoux, le dos tourné à la lumière, se penchait vers lui. Il sentait sur son front la caresse de son haleine, à travers ses vêtements le contact indécis de tout son corps. Leurs mains se serrèrent; la pointe de sa bottine s'avançait un peu sous sa robe, et il lui dit, presque défaillant:

—"La vue de votre pied me trouble."

Un mouvement de pudeur la fit se lever. Puis, immobile, et avec l'intonation singulière des somnambules:

—"A mon âge! lui! Frédéric!... Aucune n'a jamais été aimée comme moi...

. . . . . .

Frédéric soupçonna Mme Arnoux d'être venue pour s'offrir; et il était repris par une convoitise plus forte que jamais, furieuse, enragée. Cependant, il sentait quelque chose d'inexprimable, une répulsion, et comme l'effroi d'un inceste. Une autre crainte l'arrêta, celle d'en avoir dégoût plus tard. D'ailleurs quel embarras ce serait! — et tout à la fois par prudence et pour ne pas dégrader son idéal, il tourna sur ses talons et se mit à faire une cigarette.

Elle le contemplait, tout émerveillée.

—"Comme vous êtes délicat. Il n'y a que vous. Il n'y a que vous."[25]

Thus Mme Arnoux never lost the veil of Tanit and Frédéric was able to keep for always this one dear ideal amid the general disillusion of his wasted life.

3

Flaubert's autobiographical works show how closely the parable of Tanit's veil applied to his own life; it is interesting now to see

24. That this incident reflects an actual meeting between Flaubert and Mme Schlésinger, after long years of absence, is now well established.

25. *Education sentimentale*, II, 299-300.

how he made it apply to two of his chief fictional characters, Léon Dupuis and Mme Bovary. Whereas the natural dénouement is avoided with regard to Mme Arnoux, such is not the case with Léon and Emma. As lovers they are more normal; yet how much of himself Flaubert has put into each of them, Emma with her love of luxury and rich fabrics, Léon with his love of elegance and daintiness in women!

Just as Frédéric's love story began with a strong first impression destined to remain in his memory like a portrait, so Léon's begins with a vivid picture of Mme Bovary warming herself before the inn fire at Yonville:

> Madame Bovary, quand elle fut dans la cuisine, s'approcha de la cheminée. Du bout de ses doigts elle prit sa robe à la hauteur du genou et, l'ayant ainsi remontée jusqu'aux chevilles, elle tendit à la flamme, par dessus le gigot qui tournait, son pied chaussé d'une bottine noire. Le feu l'éclairait en entier, pénétrant d'une lumière crue la trame de sa robe, les pores égaux de sa peau blanche et même les paupières de ses yeux qu'elle clignait de temps à autre. Une grande couleur rouge passait sur elle selon le souffle du vent qui venait par la porte entr'ouverte.
>
> De l'autre côté de la cheminée, un jeune homme à chevelure blonde la regardait silencieusement.[26]

The blond young man was not long in making the lady's acquaintance and later in the evening we find him observing her across the table from him.

> Elle portait une petite cravate de soie bleue, qui tenait droit comme une fraise un col de batiste tuyauté; et selon les mouvements de tête qu'elle faisait, le bas de son visage s'enfonçait dans le linge et en sortait avec douceur.[27]

Such little collars were doubtless not often seen in Yonville and Léon derives evident pleasure from observing the details of its construction.

Indeed, as time went on, the young clerk was increasingly aware of the contrast between Emma's elegance of dress and the humble surroundings of Yonville. Consider, for example, the time she invited him to accompany her to the home of the wet nurse who had temporary charge of her child; once within the poor interior of the house, "... il lui semblait étrange de voir cette belle dame en robe de nankin tout au milieu de cette misère."[28] And as they walked

26. *Madame Bovary*, (Charpentier ed., Paris), p. 81.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

home along the stream which skirted the back garden walls of the houses on Main St., the lady's fashionable dress continued to contrast with her environment for we find Léon noticing how the noon stillness of the countryside was broken only by the sound of their steps and "...le frôlement de la robe d'Emma qui bruissait tout autour d'elle."[29] Again:

...dans les briques, des ravanelles avaient poussé, et du bout de son ombrelle déployée, Madame Bovary, tout en passant, faisait égrener en poussière jaune un peu des fleurs flétries, ou bien quelque branche des chèvrefeuilles et des clématites qui pendait au dehors traînait un moment sur la soie, en s'accrochant aux effilés.[30]

But the most interesting contrast between rusticity and the lady was yet to come:

La terre, à un endroit, se trouvait effondrée par le pas des bestiaux; il fallut marcher sur de grosses pierres vertes, espacées dans la boue. Souvent, elle s'arrêtait une minute à regarder où poser sa bottine, — et, chancelant sur le caillou qui tremblait, les coudes en l'air, la taille penchée, l'œil indécis, elle riait alors, de peur de tomber dans les flaques d'eau.[31]

Even though this passage contains no specific mention of her costume, yet we have already been made so aware of it by chance references that we unconsciously form the picture of this Godey-print girl trying to negotiate a set of stepping stones with only a silk parasol to counterbalance her hooped petticoats. It was a picture Léon would not soon forget.

Just as Frédéric had felt himself charmed yet put at a distance by the elegance of Mme Arnoux, so Léon undergoes the same emotional reaction: "...il sentait entre elle et lui comme de vagues abîmes."[32]

Nevertheless, he cannot stay away from her house. Standing behind her chair, he amuses himself watching the movements of her costume as she plays cards with M. Homais:

Debout et les mains sur le dossier de sa chaise, il regardait les dents de son peigne qui mordaient son chignon. A chaque mouvement qu'elle faisait pour jeter les cartes, sa robe du côté droit remontait. De ses cheveux retroussés, il descendait une couleur brune sur son dos, et qui, s'apâlissant graduellement, peu à peu se perdait dans l'ombre. Son vêtement, ensuite, retombait des deux côtés sur le siège, en bouffant, plein de plis, et s'étalait

29. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

jusqu'à terre. Quand Léon, parfois sentait la semelle de sa botte poser dessus, il s'écartait comme s'il eût marché sur quelqu'un.[33]

Thus Léon, like Frédéric, tends not to distinguish between the lady and her garments but rather to think of them as one entity. Tanit and her *zaïmph* are equally worthy of respect.

Indeed it may have been that Léon was interested in costume *per se* for one of his favorite pastimes was to peruse the fashion magazine with Emma: "...ils regardaient ensemble les gravures et s'attendaient au bas des pages."[34]

But Mme Bovary gave him no encouragement. It was her whim to be virtuous and she played the part so well that when Léon let himself contemplate the easy happiness of Charles Bovary.

...cette femme à taille mince qui, pardessus le dossier du fauteuil, venait le baiser au front:

— Quelle folie! se disait-il, et comment arriver jusqu'à elle?

Elle lui parut si vertueuse et inaccessible que toute espérance, même la plus vague, l'abandonna.[35]

And Léon resolved to leave Yonville for Paris, where ladies more accessible satisfied him for a time—just as they had Frédéric when he despaired of his progress with Mme Arnoux.

Years passed and Emma had met Rodolphe. To celebrate her recovery from that incident, Charles took her one night to the opera in Rouen. M. Léon, now in Rouen, was also present at the performance. The inevitable reunion took place and, as the three friends talked together in a café, a pretext was found to keep the lady in town while her husband went home to his practice.

Late the next afternoon Léon sought out Emma at her hotel where she received him *en peignoir*. Both were now much more experienced and matters proceeded rapidly. Indeed Léon soon found an opportunity to declare that he had always loved her—to which she dreamily replied that she had always suspected it.

Alors, ils se racontèrent les petits événements de cette existence lointaine, dont ils venaient de résumer par un seul mot, les plaisirs et les mélancolies. Il se rappelait le berceau de clématite, les robes qu'elle avait portées, les meubles de sa chambre, toute sa maison.

. . . . . .

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Madame Bovary, en l'écoutant... disait de temps à autre, à voix basse et les paupières à demi fermées:

—Oui, c'est vrai!... c'est vrai!... c'est vrai.[36]

Thus Léon and Emma have reached the same point in their love story as Frédéric and Mme Arnoux at Auteuil. Both couples are reunited under intimate circumstances after some years of absence and in both cases the young man is pleased to recall to his lady the smallest details surrounding their former relationship. Both young men reveal a meticulous memory for dresses worn upon specific occasions and in both instances the lady is amazed at the degree of unspoken admiration of which she had been the object.

The difference in the two novels begins immediately, for Mme Bovary was not so reserved as Mme Arnoux. Emma and Léon become lovers.

Ils disaient notre chambre, notre tapis, nos fauteuils, même elle disait mes pantoufles, un cadeau de Léon, une fantaisie qu'elle avait eue. C'étaient des pantoufles en satin rose, bordées de cygne. Quand elle s'asseyait sur ses genoux, sa jambe, alors trop courte, pendait en l'air; et la mignarde chaussure, qui n'avait pas de quartier, tenait seulement par les orteils de son pied nu.

Il savourait pour la première fois l'inexprimable délicatesse des élégances féminines. Jamais il n'avait rencontré cette grâce de langage, cette réserve du vêtement, ces poses de colombe assoupie. Il admirait l'exaltation de son âme et les dentelles de sa jupe. D'ailleurs n'était-ce pas *une femme du monde*, et une femme mariée! une vraie maîtresse enfin?[37]

Léon, disappointed by the vulgarity of his Paris experiences, has found in Mme Bovary the realization of all his dreams. Furthermore, the dreams here realized must have corresponded closely with those of young Flaubert himself, for had not the latter said in *Novembre*: "Ce mystère de la femme en dehors du mariage, et plus femme encore à cause de cela même, m'irritait et me tentait du double appât de l'amour et de la richesse...?"[38]

But Léon soon found that Tanit's rich and delicate veils were not so thrilling as formerly. Increasing familiarity was wearing out their mystery. Worst of all was when, immediately upon entering their temple of love, the woman herself would cast aside the sacred *zaïmph*. The goddess had begun to lose her power:

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-260.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
38. *Novembre*, p. 167.

Il n'osait lui faire des questions; mais, la discernant si expérimentée, elle avait dû passer, se disait-il, par toutes les épreuves de la souffrance et du plaisir. Ce qui le charmait autrefois l'effrayait un peu maintenant. D'ailleurs il se révoltait contre l'absorption, chaque jour plus grande, de sa personnalité. Il en voulait à Emma de cette victoire permanente. Il s'efforçait même à ne pas la chérir; puis au craquement de ses bottines, il se sentait lâche, comme les ivrognes à la vue des liqueurs fortes.[39]

Note that it was the *craquement de ses bottines*—and not the sight of her bare feet—which rendered him as weak as a drunkard before strong drink. Once she recovered herself with the veil of the goddess, all her power and charm returned. Moreover, she herself was aware of this: "Elle ne manquait pas, il est vrai, de lui prodiguer toutes sortes d'attentions, depuis les recherches de table jusqu'aux coquetteries du costume et aux langueurs du regard... afin de le retenir davantage ..."[40] And with what reckless abandon she squandered her husband's money—even to the point of actual bankruptcy—in order to obtain those *coquetteries du costume* with which she sought to hold a while longer the fleeting affection of her lover! But

Il s'ennuyait maintenant lorsque Emma, tout à coup, sanglotait sur sa poitrine; et son cœur, comme les gens qui ne peuvent endurer qu'une certaine dose de musique, s'assoupissait d'indifférence au vacarme d'un amour dont il ne distinguait plus les délicatesses.[41]

What power, indeed, has love without *délicatesses?*

Ils se connaissaient trop pour avoir ces ébahissements de la possession qui en centuplent la joie. Elle était aussi dégoûtée de lui qu'il était d'elle. Emma retrouvait dans l'adultère toutes les platitudes du mariage.[41]

They know each other too well! To them is left no mystery, no excitement, nothing but the flatness of complete familiarity. Mme Bovary, unveiled and powerless, having nothing further to live for, has but to die.

Thus died in the affections of Flaubert all those who cast aside the mantle of Tanit.

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39. *Madame Bovary*, pp. 312-313.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

BAUDELAIRE AND EMERSON

THE GREAT MASS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE WAS for Baudelaire only a dark and dreary background against which the figure of Poe stood out with an unearthly radiance. Passage upon passage reiterates this:

> Jeune et vieille à la fois, l'Amérique bavarde et radote avec une volubilité étonnante. Qui pourrait compter ses poëtes? Ils sont innombrables. Ses *bas bleus?* Ils encombrent les revues. Ses critiques? Croyez qu'elle possède des pédants qui valent bien les nôtres pour rappeler sans cesse l'artiste à la beauté antique, pour questionner un poëte ou un romancier sur la moralité de son but et la qualité de ses intentions. Il y a là-bas comme ici, mais plus encore qu'ici, des littérateurs qui ne savent pas l'orthographe, une activité puérile, inutile; des compilateurs à foison, des ressasseurs, des plagiaires de plagiats et des critiques de critiques.[1]

Individual American writers aside from Poe are hardly mentioned by Baudelaire. The names of Lowell and Longfellow occur in passing in the articles on Poe,[2] and Baudelaire does the latter the honor of plagiarizing him in *Le Guignon*, that amazing fusion at white heat of a stanza from the *Psalm of Life* and one from the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*.[3] In Baudelaire's long list of those to whom copies of the first edition of the *Fleurs du Mal* are to be sent, the only Americans are Longfellow and Willis.[4] Only one American writer besides Poe won more than a passing mention from Baudelaire: Emerson.

The juxtaposition of the two names may well seem surprising. On first thought—and even second—one might think that Baudelaire would have found Emerson utterly uncongenial. Emerson's constant reiteration that Truth and Goodness and Beauty are one, his quivering emotion in the presence of nature ("je suis incapable de

1. *Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe, Poe*, pp. 700-701. See also pp. 668, 684. The references to Baudelaire's works are to *Œuvres*, texte établi et commenté par Y.-G. Le Dantec, Editions de la Pléiade, 1932, 2 vols. (here referred to as *Œuvres*); and Poe, *Histoires*, traduction de Charles Baudelaire, Editions de la Pléiade, 1932 (here referred to as *Poe*).

2. *Poe*, pp. 666, 671, 690.

3. See *Œuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire*, édition critique par F.-F. Gautier, continuée par Y.-G. Le Dantec, Nouvelle Revue Française, Tome II, *Les Fleurs du Mal: documents, variantes, bibliographie*, 1934, pp. 368-369. Baudelaire probably met the Longfellow stanza in Poe's *Tell-tale Heart;* it is used as the epigraph of the first published version (see *ibid.*, Tome XIII, *Traductions d'E. A. Poe: documents, variantes, bibliographie*, 1931, p. 504). Baudelaire's translation of a part of *Hiawatha*, "Le Calumet de la Paix," published in the *Revue Contemporaine*, February 28, 1861, is merely a piece of hack-work.

4. Letter to Eugène de Broise, June 13, 1857. Baudelaire, *Textes inédits*, commentés par Y.-G. Le Dantec, Cahiers Jacques Doucet, I, 1934, 23.

m'attendrir sur les végétaux," writes Baudelaire[5]), his exalted opinion of human nature, his sturdy faith in progress, his dismissal of "theological problems of original sin, origin of evil, predestination, and the like," as "the soul's mumps and measles and whooping-cough,"[6] his "imparting truth and health in rough electric shocks,"[7] —could even his interest in Swedenborg, his proclamation of Baudelaire's cherished doctrine of correspondences, make up for all that? What was it that led Baudelaire, after an early and apparently unproductive contact with Emerson, to go back to him many years later?

But first of all, how and when did Baudelaire hear of Emerson and read him for the first time? Emerson began to be talked of in France not long after the publication of the first series of *Essays* in 1841.[8] At the Collège de France Mickiewicz in 1842-1843, and Quinet in 1844 referred to him with the highest praise.[9] Quinet's lectures were published in 1845 as *Le Christianisme et la révolution française*. In 1844 an article by Philarète Chasles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August 15, "Des Tendances littéraires en Angleterre et en Amérique," singled Emerson out for special praise. Two years later "Daniel Stern" (the comtesse d'Agoult) published an article on Emerson in the *Revue Indépendante* (July 25, 1846), and in 1847 the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which the year before had published the first critical article on Poe, brought out on August 1 "Un Penseur et Poète américain: Ralph Waldo Emerson," by Emile Montégut.[10] The following year brought Emerson himself to Paris for a month (May 7 to June 3, 1848), but in those stormy days he met few people, for he writes to Margaret Fuller on May 31, 1848:

> I have seen almost no private society, except De Tocqueville's family and the Comtesse d'Agout [*sic*] who particularly desires to see you on your return. I have heard Lamartine speak on Poland, I have heard the orators of the clubs, seen Rachel three times on the stage. But I am now just ready to begin my visit, and, according to the lot of humanity, it is time to go.[11]

5. Letter to Fernand Desnoyers, 1855. *Œuvres complètes*, éd. N. R. F., *Correspondance*, I, (1933), 111.
6. Emerson, *Prose Works*, Boston, Fields, Osgood and Co., 1870, 2 vols. I, 285-286.
7. *Ibid.*, I, 257.
8. See Hans Keller, *Emerson in Frankreich, Wirkungen und Parallelen*, Giesen, 1932, chapter iii, "Emerson und die französische Kritik."
9. See Maurice Chazin, "Quinet an Early Discoverer of Emerson," *PMLA*, March 1933; "Extracts from Emerson by Edgar Quinet," *RLC*, XV, January-March and April-June 1935.
10. For details on these articles, see M. Sidney Lamont McGee, *La Littérature américaine dans la Revue des Deux Mondes* (1831-1900), Montpellier, 1927.
11. *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Ralph L. Rusk, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, 6 vols., VI, 78-79.

Baudelaire, who about this time was eagerly pursuing every American who turned up in Paris to ask questions about Poe, must have let Emerson escape him.

In 1850 Montégut published another article, "Du Culte des héros: Carlyle et Emerson," in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August 15, and in the following year he brought out the first French translation of Emerson, that of the first series of *Essays*.[12] This was the only translation (with the exception of an extract from *Representative Men* published in the *Revue Britannique* of March, 1850) to appear until the series published in the 1860's by Lacroix, Verboecken et Cie. of Brussels ("the wretched Lacroix" with whom Baudelaire was to have his tribulations later). And it is this translation which elicits Baudelaire's first mention of Emerson by name, in the notes, dating from about 1852, for a periodical, *Le Hibou philosophe*, which was to be directed by Baudelaire and Champfleury. There, among the books to be reviewed is listed "la traduction d'Emerson" (*Œuvres*, II, 425-426). Emerson is also mentioned, but only in passing, in Baudelaire's 1852 article on Poe: "*Le Corbeau* eut un vaste succès. De l'aveu de MM. Longfellow et Emerson, c'est une merveille" (*Poe*, p. 671). But it is possible that Baudelaire had come across the *Essays* before the translation appeared. In his *Conseils aux jeunes littérateurs*, published in *L'Esprit public* on April 15, 1846, he writes:

> Je fais la part des mille circonstances qui enveloppent la volonté humaine et qui ont elles-mêmes leurs causes légitimes; elles sont une circonférence dans laquelle est enfermée la volonté; mais cette circonférence est mouvante, vivante, tournoyante, et change tous les jours, toutes les minutes, toutes les secondes, son cercle et son centre. Ainsi, entraînées par elle, toutes les volontés humaines qui y sont cloîtrées varient à chaque instant leur jeu réciproque, et c'est ce qui constitue la liberté (*Œuvres*, II, 384).

In "Circles," in the first series of *Essays*, Emerson had written:

> The life of man is a self-evolving circle, which, from a ring imperceptibly small, rushes on all sides outwards to new and larger circles, and that without end. The extent to which this generation of circles, wheel without wheel, will go, depends on the force or truth of the individual soul. For it is the inert effort of each thought, having formed itself into a circular wave of circumstance,—as, for instance, an empire, rules of an art, a local usage, a religious rite,—to heap itself on that ridge, and to solidify and hem in the life. But if the soul is quick and strong, it bursts over that boundary on all sides, and expands another orbit on the great deep which

12. *Essais de philosophie américaine*, par Ralph Emerson . . traduits en français et précédés d'une introduction par Emile Montégut, Charpentier, 1851.

also runs up into a high wave, with attempt again to stop and to bind. But the heart refuses to be imprisoned; in its first and narrowest pulses, it already tends outward with a vast force and to immense and innumerable expansions... There is no outside, no enclosing wall, no circumference to us (*Prose Works*, I, 376-377).[13]

In spite of the strong likeness between the two passages, the verbal resemblances are not so strong that one can be sure that Baudelaire had had the English passage before him. I discover no other Emersonian echoes in his writings of these years, which are full of pilferings from his reading. Did Baudelaire find the passage quoted somewhere? As far as we know, the only two criticisms, or mentions even, of Emerson before Baudelaire's article are Chasles' and Quinet's, and neither has any trace of the passage.

In any case this first contact of Baudelaire with Emerson bore no fruit; perhaps simply because Baudelaire found Emerson in general uncongenial; perhaps because he soon discovered in his idol Poe a great anti-Emersonian. Emerson was one of Poe's many *bêtes noires;* he is pilloried in *Marginalia* as "little more than a respectful imitation of Carlyle,"[14] and in *Autography* Poe declares that "Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson belongs to a class of gentlemen with whom we have no patience whatever—the mystic for mysticism's sake."[15]

Any passing interest Baudelaire may have had in Emerson died out completely at this time, and the chapter seems ended almost before it is begun. But there was to be a surprising reawakening of this interest in Baudelaire's later years. In *Fusées* and *Mon Cœur mis à nu*, labelled by Baudelaire's editors *Journaux intimes*, but both in reality jumbled collections of notes on his reading, ideas for poems and other works, acid comments on the world, personal memoranda and so on, there are two direct references to Emerson. The first is in *Fusées*, immediately after a mention of Swedenborg:

> La pensée de Campbell (*The Conduct of Life*).
> Concentration.
> Puissance de l'idée fixe.
>
> (*Œuvres*, II, 628).

13. In M. Crépet's edition of *L'Art romantique* (Conard, 1925) there is the following note to this passage: "Baudelaire ici paraphrase Emerson qui dans ses *Lois de la Vie* (*Conduct of Life*) écrivait: 'La puissance de l'homme est emprisonnée dans le cercle de la nécessité dont il heurte les côtés à tout instant, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit bien fixé sur l'étendue de sa circonférence'" (p. 527). But *Conduct of Life* was published in 1860, fourteen years after Baudelaire's article.

14. *Complete Works* of Edgar Allan Poe, edited by James A. Harrison, New York, Crowell, 1902, XVI, 122.

15. *Ibid.*, XV, 260.

The reference is to "Power," in *Conduct of Life*, where Emerson states: "The poet Campbell said, that 'a man accustomed to work was equal to any achievement he resolved on, and, that, for himself, necessity, not inspiration, was the prompter of his muse'" (*Prose Works*, II, 353). We shall see how often Baudelaire returns to this thought. The second reference is in *Mon Cœur mis à nu*: "Emerson a oublié Voltaire dans ses *Représentants de l'humanité* [*Representative Men*, 1850]." Beside these two direct references there are a number of passages borrowed more or less directly from Emerson, as M. Crépet points out in the notes of his recent edition of the *Journaux intimes*, in which he also gives the exceedingly interesting bit of information that "on possède, d'ailleurs, de sa main, un choix d'aphorismes tirés de *Conduct of Life*."[16] The majority of the Emersonian passages in the *Journaux intimes* are also taken from *Conduct of Life*. On the first page of *Fusées*, among a number of passages from De Maistre, we find: "Le goût de la concentration productive doit remplacer, chez un homme mûr, le goût de la déperdition" (*Œuvres*, II, 626), which is evidently from a passage occurring just before the quotation from Campbell: "The one prudence in life is concentration; the one evil is dissipation" (*Prose Works*, II, 353). A little later in *Fusées* comes the passage: "Quand un homme se met au lit, presque tous ses amis ont un désir secret de le voir mourir; les uns pour constater qu'il avait une santé inférieure à la leur; les autres, dans l'espoir désintéressé d'étudier une agonie" (*Œuvres*, II, 628-629). Eugène Crépet notes in his edition of the *Œuvres posthumes*: "Ailleurs, Baudelaire indique Emerson comme l'auteur de cette misanthropique boutade,"—but where Baudelaire does this I have not been able to discover. However, the reference is certainly to the chapter "Considerations by the Way," in *Conduct of Life*: "A person seldom falls sick but the bystanders are animated with a faint hope that he will die" (*Prose Works*, II, 449).[17]

Mon Cœur mis à nu opens with a passage which is simply another variant of the passage on concentration: "De la vaporisation et de la concentration du *Moi*. Tout est là" (*Œuvres*, II, 642). Shortly afterwards comes a passage which also seems to be an echo of Emerson: "il y a des choses qui devraient exalter la curiosité des hommes au plus haut degré... Où sont nos amis morts? Pourquoi sommes-nous ici? Venons-nous de quelque part?" etc. (*Œuvres*, II, 646).

16. Baudelaire, *Journaux intimes*, avertissement et notes de Jacques Crépet, Mercure de France, 1938, p. 135.

17. M. Crépet also suggests (*ibid.*, p. 173) that the long passage towards the end of *Fusées*, beginning "Le monde va finir," may be in part an answer to a passage of Emerson's on progress, which M. Crépet quotes from the introduction to the Virginia edition of Poe, and which comes from *The American Scholar* (*Prose Works*, I, 45), an address which Baudelaire gives no other indication of having read.

In his essay on Swedenborg, in *Representative Men,* Emerson writes: "the problem of essence must take precedence of all others,—the questions of Whence? What? and Whither?" (*Prose Works,* II, 51).

There are then a number of passages in the *Journaux intimes* which Baudelaire took more or less directly from Emerson. But more than that one feels here and there, especially in the last pages of *Fusées,*[18] an unmistakeable Emersonian tang—like a sudden breath of crisp clear New England air in the sultry enervating atmosphere of a hothouse. The brief sententious exhortations to work, such as "Plus on travaille, mieux on travaille et plus on veut travailler" (*Œuvres,* II, 668), the urgings of the recalcitrant will, the series of plans and projects headed "*Hygiène. Conduite. Morale.*" and the repeated maxim, "*avant tout,* être *un grand homme* et *un saint* pour soi-même" (*Œuvres* II, 654, 657) stand out among the many passages culled from Poe and De Maistre, the outbursts of anger, the casual memoranda. We are in the very spirit of Emerson's doctrine of self-reliance, "Self-trust is the essence of heroism" (*Prose Works,* I, 348); his belief in the power of the will, "Society is servile from want of will, and therefore the world wants saviours and religions. One way is right to go: the hero sees it and moves on that aim, and has the world under him for root and support" (*ibid.,* II, 330); the need of concentration. "Concentration is the secret of strength" (*ibid.,* II, 354); the necessity of work, "Work is victory. Wherever work is done, victory is attained" (*ibid.,* II, 435); the importance of health, "No labor, pains, temperance, poverty, nor exercise, that can gain it, must be grudged" (*ibid.,* II, 456). Emerson's "garrulity of advising" (*ibid.,* II, 447) on the conduct of life has found a ready listener in Baudelaire.

These passages in *Fusées* and *Mon Cœur mis à nu* may be dated with some degree of closeness. M. Crépet believes that *Fusées* covers the period 1855-1862 and *Mon Cœur mis à nu,* 1859-1866. But as most of the Emersonian passages come from *Conduct of Life,* published in 1860, and are most numerous in *Fusées,* it follows that the years of Baudelaire's interest in Emerson were about 1860-1863. And I think that it is in Baudelaire's life, in his state of mind during these years as reflected in his letters, that we can find the clue to this interest. These are years in which Baudelaire, more than at any other time, is making desperate, though intermittent, efforts to set his life in order. He feels a double urge; a sense of responsibility for his mother, left a widow in 1857, and an urgent ambition, made

18. These pages (*Œuvres,* II, 668-672) have been placed by all editors up to M. Crépet at the end of *Mon Cœur mis à nu.* M. Crépet, with excellent reasons (*Journaux intimes,* pp. 127-129), has restored them to what is undoubtedly their right place, at the end of *Fusées.*

poignant by the fear of death. The earlier letters are full of anxiety too, but a more immediate anxiety; the present is so pressing that there is little time to think of the future. Only occasionally is Baudelaire chilled by "la peur de voir s'user et péricliter, et disparaître, dans cette horrible existence pleine de secousses, l'admirable faculté poétique, la netteté d'idées, et la puissance d'espérance qui constituent en réalité mon capital."[19] He is seeing himself as another Poe, pursued by the fatal *guignon*: he writes to his mother on February 9, 1857: "je m'attendais... à quelques mots de compliments, au moins à des félicitations sur mon courage et mon activité, qui survivent à tant d'humiliations, à tant d'outrages, à tant d'injustices, qui ont fait de moi un martyr, le plus curieux martyr de Paris peut-être" (*Lettres à sa mère*, p. 134). But after his stepfather's death, of which he writes "cet événement a été pour moi une chose solennelle, comme un rappel à l'ordre" (*ibid.*, p. 139), he is suddenly aware of the necessity of remaking his life, and the intolerable difficulty of doing so.[20] For a brief time the plan of settling down with his mother at Honfleur seemed to put new heart in him. But the six months he finally spent at Honfleur were only a temporary respite, and perhaps something of a disappointment. Early in the following year he had an attack that was apparently a precursor of the fatal ones that were to lay him low six years later. From then on the fear of death is never far from him. He writes to his mother on March 26, 1860:

> Si tu savais de quelles pensées je me nourris: la peur de mourir avant d'avoir fait ce que j'ai à faire; la peur de ta mort avant que je t'aie rendue absolument heureuse, toi le seul être avec lequel je puisse vivre doucement, sans ruses, sans mensonges; l'horreur de mon conseil judiciaire (il faut bien prononcer ce mot) qui me torture jour et nuit; enfin, et ceci est peut-être plus triste que le reste, la peur de ne jamais me guérir de mes vices. Voilà mes pensées habituelles (*ibid.*, p. 195).

And later in the year there is the despairing cry: "Je mourrai sans avoir rien fait de ma vie" (*ibid.*, p. 204). Yet along with the fear of death there is a recurrent temptation to suicide. Baudelaire writes to Poulet-Malassis in this same year:

> Depuis assez longtemps je suis au bord du suicide, et ce qui me retient, c'est une raison étrangère à la lâcheté et même au regret. C'est l'orgueil qui m'empêche de laisser des affaires embrouillées... Depuis deux mois surtout je suis tombé dans une atonie et une désespérance alarmantes. Je

19. December 20, 1855. Baudelaire, *Lettres inédites à sa mère*, préface et notes de Jacques Crépet, Conard, 1918, p. 105.
20. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 150, 157-158.

me suis senti attaqué d'une espèce de maladie à la Gérard, à savoir la peur de ne plus pouvoir penser, ni écrire une ligne. Depuis quatre ou cinq jours seulement, je suis parvenu à vérifier que je n'étais pas mort de ce côté-là. C'est un grand point (*Correspondance*, I, 366-367).

The next year brought a momentary lightening of the gloom, with the publication of the second edition of the *Fleurs du Mal*: "Pour la première fois de ma vie, je suis presque content" (*Lettres à sa mère*, January 1, 1861, p. 211). But soon the clouds gather again, and on January 16 Baudelaire writes to Poulet-Malassis: "Ma volonté est dans un état piteux, et si je ne pique pas, *par hygiène, et malgré tout*, une tête dans le travail, je suis perdu" (*Correspondance*, I, 377). Yet the letters to his mother insist upon his desire to live.[21] The famous letter of May 6, 1861 (*Lettres à sa mère*, pp. 222-233) is the fruit "de longues méditations sur ma destinée et sur ton caractère." Again there is the haunting thought of suicide, "une idée non pas fixe, mais qui revient à des époques périodiques." But, says Baudelaire again, "je ne puis pas me tuer sans avoir mis mes affaires en ordre"; many of the last notes in *Fusées* are plans for doing this. The only hope seems to be in some radically different financial arrangement. But he adds two days later: "Ce conseil judiciaire, selon moi, ne doit être aboli que quand j'aurai ou quand tu auras la certitude morale que je peux travailler toujours, sans cesse, et même *sans besoin*" (*ibid.*, p. 236). Again there is the echo in *Fusées*: "Travaille *six* jours sans relâche" (*Œuvres*, II, 669). Inevitably the relapse comes, and he writes on December 25, 1861: "Quand j'ai le malheur de négliger un devoir, le lendemain le devoir est plus difficile à remplir... il devient ensuite, de jour en jour, de plus en plus difficile, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin le devoir m'apparaisse comme une chose impossible à exécuter" (*Lettres à sa mère*, p. 248). We are again close to *Fusées*: "En renvoyant ce qu'on a à faire, on court le danger de ne jamais pouvoir le faire" (*Œuvres*, II, 669). Then the effort is renewed; "Comme il faut des années de fatigue et de châtiment pour apprendre les vérités les plus simples, par exemple que le travail, cette chose si désagréable, est l'unique manière de ne pas souffrir, ou de moins souffrir de la vie" (*Lettres à sa mère*, March 29, 1862, p. 265). *Fusées* has the same thought; "Pour guérir de tout, de la misère, de la maladie et de la mélancolie, il ne manque absolument que le *Goût du travail*" (*Œuvres*, II, 669). Another letter to his mother, of August 11, 1862, says:

21. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 217, 218, 220.

Je ne veux pas te raconter... les extraordinaires luttes de moi-même contre moi-même, les désespoirs, les rêveries... Je sens que je suis dans une crise, dans une phase, où il faut prendre un grand parti, c'est-à-dire faire juste le contraire de tout ce que j'ai fait: n'aimer que la gloire, travailler sans cesse, même *sans espoir de salaire,* supprimer tout plaisir et devenir ce qu'on appelle un grand type de grandeur (*Lettres à sa mère,* p. 273).

"Devenir un grand type de grandeur," or, as *Mon Cœur mis à nu* puts it, "Vouloir tous les jours être le plus grand des hommes" (*Œuvres,* II, 663); the ambition is Emersonian indeed. Baudelaire's insistence on work occurs now and again in the following year. On November 25, 1863, he writes: "Le grand et unique objet de ma vie maintenant est de faire du travail, la chose la plus dure et la plus ennuyeuse du monde, la chose agréable par habitude" (*Lettres à sa mère,* p. 289). But the year ends on a note of despair: "Je suis attaqué d'une effroyable maladie, qui ne m'a jamais tant ravagé que cette année, je veux dire *la rêverie, le marasme, le découragement* et *l'indécision*... Mais comment guérir? Comment avec la désespérance faire de l'espoir, avec la lâcheté faire de la volonté?" (*ibid.,* p. 292). The struggle is drawing to an end, the unhappy trip to Belgium with all its misfortunes saps the last dregs of effort. On February 11, 1865, there is the sad avowal: "Je possède parfaitement la science de la vie; mais je n'ai pas la force de la mettre en pratique (*ibid.,* p. 328), and, in the last dreary days: "il y a une espèce de guignon suspendu sur moi" (December 23, 1865, *ibid.,* pp. 360-361).

It is worth while to dwell on these years from 1860 to 1863 in Baudelaire's life and to show by quotations, which could be multiplied many times, their particular character; years in which Baudelaire, more than ever before or after, was struggling desperately, though unsuccessfully, to order his life anew, to drive himself to work, to make a supreme moral effort. These are the years in which he was writing those poems of intense self-examination, the prose poem "A une heure du matin," published in 1862, and its parallel in the *Fleurs du Mal,* "L'Examen de minuit," published in 1863. And we have seen how passage after passage of *Fusées* and *Mon Cœur mis à nu* reflect these same preoccupations. All this makes the reason for Baudelaire's interest in Emerson during these years evident. He found in Emerson the encouragement, the guidance he so sorely needed, something that neither Poe nor De Maistre could give him. Poe had been a helpless victim; De Maistre's rigid and relentless dogma satisfied the intellect, but gave no practical pre-

cepts, nothing to live by. The very title of Emerson's *Conduct of Life* must have appealed strongly to Baudelaire, and the doctrines he found there of self-reliance, of courage, of work, the hard practical precepts, were what he most needed. This attraction to Emerson seems then an almost exclusively private and personal one. It is not Emerson's metaphysics, not his pronouncements on nature, beauty, art, that appeal to Baudelaire; he finds in him above all a mentor, a guide to the conduct of life.

Baudelaire's reading, of whatever sort, hardly ever failed to leave some trace, some slight deposit, in whatever he was writing at the time. One may note first of all the moralizing tone of certain passages in the review of Cladel's *Les Martyrs ridicules*, published in 1861. Of the "jeunesse littéraire" pictured in the book Baudelaire says: "Elle ignore que le génie (si toutefois on peut appeler ainsi le germe indéfinissable du grand homme) doit, comme le saltimbanque apprenti, risquer de se rompre mille fois les os en secret avant de danser devant le public; que l'inspiration, en un mot, n'est que la récompense de l'exercice quotidien" (*Œuvres*, II, 568-569). And his last word on the unfortunate hero of the book is: "On peut espérer qu'à partir de ce moment Alpinien est à moitié sauvé; il ne lui manque plus que de devenir un homme d'action, un homme de devoir, au jour le jour" (*Œuvres*, II, 572). The tone is unmistakeably Emersonian.

It is not surprising to find Baudelaire quoting Emerson twice in his final tribute to Delacroix, "L'Œuvre et la Vie d'Eugène Delacroix," published just after the painter's death in 1863. The article at more than one point suggests Baudelaire's Emersonian preoccupations; he admires in Delacroix "sa propension aux formules simples, aux maximes brèves, pour la bonne conduite de la vie... maximes saines, fortes, simples et dures, qui servent de cuirasse et de bouclier à celui que la fatalité de son génie jette dans une bataille perpétuelle" (*Œuvres*, II, 310-311). Later Baudelaire alludes to "cette question toujours si intéressante pour les artistes et les écrivains, à savoir, de l'hygiène du travail et de la conduite de la vie" (*Œuvres*, II, 315). He has already quoted Emerson directly:

> Ce qui marque le plus visiblement le style de Delacroix, c'est la concision et une espèce d'intensité sans ostentation, résultat habituel de la concentration de toutes les forces spirituelles vers un point donné. *'The hero is he who is immovably centred,'* dit le moraliste d'outre-mer Emerson, qui, bien qu'il passe pour le chef de l'ennuyeuse école bostonienne, n'en a pas moins une certaine pointe à la Sénèque, propre à aiguillonner la méditation. *'Le héros est celui-là qui est immuablement concentré.'*—La maxime que le

chef du *Transcendentalisme* américain applique à la conduite de la vie et au domaine des affaires peut également s'appliquer au domaine de la poésie et de l'art (*Œuvres*, II, 307).

The quotation, as Baudelaire's comment suggests, is from *Conduct of Life*, "Considerations by the Way" (*Prose Works*, II, 463). And a few pages farther on comes a familiar phrase: "'*The one prudence in life is concentration; the one evil is dissipation,*' dit le philosophe américain que nous avons déjà cité" (*Œuvres*, II, 313).

"Emerson, qui, bien qu'il passe pour le chef de l'ennuyeuse école bostonienne, n'en a pas moins une certaine pointe à la Sénèque, propre à aiguillonner la méditation." The first phrase seems a reference and a half-apology to Poe's opinion of Emerson.[22] But the "pointe à la Sénèque" sums up just what had appealed to Baudelaire in Emerson. Baudelaire had been thinking of Seneca not long before; a note in *Fusées* refers to "le portrait de *Sérène*, par Sénèque" (*Œuvres*, II, 632),[23] and Baudelaire may well have compared himself to that distant ancestor of the romantics, the Serenus of Seneca's *De tranquillitate animi*.[24] And it is Emerson who is to play Seneca to his Serenus, to be his guide and counsellor and fortify him with "rough electric shocks."

There is a last echo of Emerson in the prose poem "Anywhere out of the World," one of Baudelaire's many treatments of the old, old theme of the restless traveller forever seeking happiness in some new place—a favorite theme of Lucretius and Horace, and of Seneca in the very dialogue *De tranquillitate animi* to which I have just referred:

> Aliud ex alio iter suscipitur et spectacula spectaculis mutantur. Ut ait Lucretius:
>
> Hoc se quisque modo semper fugit.
>
> Sed quid prodest, si non effugit? Sequitur se ipse et urget gravissimus comes (II, 14).

22. Cf. Baudelaire's note to "transcendentalistes" is the first version of *La Genèse d'un Poëme*: "Ecole américaine dont nous trouverions facilement en France des échantillons, dans les régions *sereines*, dans les régions *chastes*, etc.; Margaret Fuller en était. Généralement, des prêcheurs et des moralistes en poésie, une variété de compositeurs pour mirlitons.—Boston et les transcendentalistes étaient la grande haine de Poe.—C.B." (*Revue Française*, April 20, 1859. *Œuvres complètes*, éd. N. R. F., XIII, 481).

23. M. Crépet points out (*Journaux intimes*, pp. 151-153) that the "portrait de Sérène" is studied in Brierre de Boismont's *Du Suicide* (1856), the title of which Baudelaire notes immediately before the Seneca reference. Whether Baudelaire had gone back from Brierre de Boismont directly to Seneca is difficult to tell.

24. For a study of this parallel see G. T. Clapton, "Baudelaire, Sénèque et Saint-Jean Chrysostome," *RHL*, XXXVIII, April-June 1931, 235-261.

Baudelaire begins;

Cette vie est un hôpital où chaque malade est possédé du désir de changer de lit. Celui-ci voudrait souffrir en face du poêle, et celui-là croit qu'il guérirait à côté de la fenêtre. Il me semble que je serais toujours bien là où je ne suis pas, et cette question de déménagement en est une que je discute sans cesse avec mon âme (*Œuvres*, I, 487-488).

In the very last chapter of *Conduct of Life* Emerson had written: "Like sick men in hospitals, we change only from bed to bed, from one folly to another" (*Prose Works*, II, 489), and in the earlier chapter had referred to "the traveller, who says 'anywhere but here'" (*Prose Works*, II, 457). The two phrases had evidently stuck in Baudelaire's mind along with the lines from Hood's "Bridge of Sighs" that gave the poem its title.

This reading of Emerson left relatively few traces in Baudelaire's work; his poems and critical articles owe to it only a few happy phrases. The interest is almost wholly personal, not literary. But it has seemed to me curious and worth noting that at a certain period Baudelaire, to whom so much in Emerson was alien, should have found and relished in him precept upon precept, line upon line, of "tart cathartic virtue."[25]

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25. The phrase is Emerson's own, in "Heroism" (*Prose Works*, I, 347).

ZOLA'S *LA JOIE DE VIVRE* AND THE OPERA *LAZARE*

OF ALL THE WORKS OF EMILE ZOLA, the least discussed are his operas, or "poèmes lyriques," as he called them. They do not appear in either the Charpentier or the Bernouard editions of Zola's works and were not collected in book form until Eugène Fasquelle published six of them in 1921. Even this edition is not complete, for it does not contain the stage version of *Le Rêve* and one or two others.[1] The reasons for this neglect are not far to seek. In the first place, the literary merit of the "poèmes lyriques" is not high and the general social philosophy which informs them is too simple and too naïve to be generally acceptable. Then also the circumstances under which they were composed were not favorable, for most of them appeared under the shadow of the *Trois Villes* and the *Quatre Evangiles*, at exactly the time when all France was preoccupied with the Dreyfus case. Most of these operas were not played during Zola's life and others have never been played at all. *Lazare* (1894), with music by Alfred Bruneau, is one of the latter, although M. Fasquelle declares in the Avant-propos to the opera that it "...doit être représenté prochainement."[2] So far as I have been able to discover, his promise has not been carried out and *Lazare* remains today only one more monument to Zola's long and fruitless quest for success in the theatre.

Most of these "poèmes lyriques" represent a new departure in the opera, of the type described by Zola when he wrote of *Le Rêve*: "Il s'agit d'un drame lyrique à cinq personnages, d'une forme toute nouvelle en France, sans chœurs, sans duos, logique et très simple...."[3] The description is eminently suitable to *Lazare* also. Briefly, *Lazare* is the simple story of the biblical Lazarus who has died and is now in the tomb. His grief-stricken family beg Jesus to raise him from the dead and after many prayers the Savior consents to do so, but unwillingly. To the surprise of his family, however, Lazarus, when he is revived from his last sleep, refuses to relive his life. He will not undergo the tortures of existence again, he declares, preferring the silence and repose of the tomb to the pain and suffering of the mortal world. Jesus mercifully allows him to return to his rest; his family, convinced now that they can never win him back from death, importune Christ no more. It will be noted that Lazarus embraces the

1. This is perhaps because the libretti of those operas omitted were written by authors other than Zola, while those included in the volume are by Zola himself.
2. Emile Zola, *Poèmes Lyriques*, Paris, Fasquelle, 1921, p. 299.
3. See my edition of *Emile Zola's Letters to J. Van Santen Kolff*, St. Louis, Washington University Press, 1940, p. 38.

characteristics of both biblical figures of that name. He is of course the Lazarus of the Gospel according to John (11:1-45), the man who is raised from the dead. But he is also the Lazarus of Luke (16: 19-31), the beggar who lay outside the rich man's door, the beggar who is the symbol of suffering here below. In this double character the figure of Lazare has a certain significance in the history of Zola's work, for he is the final expression of one of the chief *leit-motivs* observable in its ensemble.

That motif is the hatred of suffering on earth, a motif which has its chief expression in the novel *La Joie de vivre* (1884). I am persuaded that there is a close filiation between these two works, *La Joie de vivre* and *Lazare*, and that, moreover, both of them are intensely personal expressions of Zola's own hatred of suffering. The Lazare of the opera, like the Lazare Chanteau of *La Joie de vivre*, seems to be, from this point of view at least, a reflection of Zola himself.

There can be no doubt that the Lazare Chanteau of the novel is created in Zola's own image, for the latter frankly declares that, in composing the work, he wanted to write into it "beaucoup de moi et des miens."[4] Now, this character, who is the symbol of suffering on earth, has the same name as the hero of the opera and from this fact it is possible to infer that there is some connection between the two.[5] That inference is supported by a comparison of what we know of Zola's own hatred of "la Douleur" with the words of the two works in question.

The idea of some protest against suffering on earth seems to have been very old in Zola's mind, for in 1889 he declared to a correspondent that:

> J'ai longtemps eu l'idée d'écrire un poème en prose sur la Douleur. Ce sont les débris de ce poème qui se trouvent dans *La Joie de vivre*, notamment dans la symphonie de Lazare. Je crois qu'en élargissant le sujet un grand musicien trouverait là un motif admirable.[6]

Testimony that Zola had ample reason to hate physical suffering is abundant in Dr. Edouard Toulouse's study of his physical and mental condition (1896). Dr. Toulouse notes that:

4. *Correspondance*, 1872-1902, *Œuvres Complètes d'Emile Zola*, Paris, Bernouard, ed. M. Le Blond, 1927-1929, XLIX, 605.

5. Zola may have gotten the idea of naming his character Lazare from a poem of that name by Auguste Barbier (1837) which he undoubtedly knew since it was published in the same volume as Barbier's *La Curée*, two lines of which Zola quoted as epigraph for his novel of the same name. Barbier's *Lazare* describes a visit to England; its theme is the suffering of the working classes, victims of the Industrial Revolution. Their torments are symbolized in the name Lazare, Luke's biblical beggar.

6. *Letters to J. Van Santen Kolff*, p. 28.

Le système nerveux de M. Zola présente encore à considérer un ensemble de troubles...spasmes cardiaques, crampes, pollakurie, tremblement, etc. Il est notamment sujet à des crises de douleur, qui datent de la vingtième année, mais qui tout d'abord, entre 20 et 40 ans, se produisaient à de longs intervalles. C'était surtout, durant cette période, des coliques nerveuses. Plus tard, de 45 à 50 ans, ces crises ont pris la forme d'angine de poitrine, de cystite aiguë, de rhumatisme articulaire. Actuellement, les crises sont moins fortes, mais elles sont remplacées par un état de malaise chronique, de faiblesse et d'irritabilité presque constantes.[7]

He notes again that Zola was a victim of multiple nervous troubles—"contracture de l'orbiculaire, tic vésical, spasmes cardiaques, crampes thoraciques, fausse angine de poitrine, hyperesthésies sensorielles, algies..."[8] and that he was extremely sensitive to pain of all kinds:

...l'exercice du dynamomètre déterminait parfois, et pendant un temps assez long, des crises avec crampes musculaires. La pression d'un vêtement trop ajusté a eu quelquefois des effets analogues du côté du thorax. De même encore, le serrement dans une foule de mi-carême a une fois provoqué chez M. Zola une crise d'angoisse avec phénomènes angineux graves. La piqûre d'un doigt a déterminé des douleurs dans le bras pendant plusieurs heures.[9]

It was no wonder that Zola once referred to himself as a "pauvre écorché... frémissant et souffrant au moindre souffle d'air."[10] This same hypochondriac tendency is especially noticeable in his early correspondence and it is no mere coincidence that when Dr. Pascal Rougon discovers his powerful elixir (*Le Docteur Pascal*) he decides to use it, not to prevent death, but only to abolish pain on earth.

This same hatred and fear of pain is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Lazare Chanteau in *La Joie de vivre*. So much does he detest the idea of suffering that he determines to compose a symphony on "la Douleur" (the symphony that contains the remnants of Zola's early prose-poem on suffering):

...il y résumait sa philosophie. Au début, la vie naîtrait du caprice égoïste d'une force; ensuite, viendrait l'illusion du bonheur, la duperie de l'existence, en traits saisissants, un accouplement d'amoureux, un massacre de soldats, un dieu expirant sur une croix; toujours le cri du mal monterait, le hurlement

7. Dr. Edouard Toulouse, *Enquête médico-psychologique...Introduction générale, Émile Zola*, Paris, Société d'Editions Scientifiques, 1896, p. 165.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.
10. *Ibid.*, VII (letter-preface of Zola). See also my article in *PMLA*, December, 1941, in which this subject is also discussed.

des êtres emplirait le ciel, jusqu'au chant final de la délivrance, un chant dont la douceur céleste exprimerait la joie de l'anéantissement universel.[11]

Although he never succeeds in completing this symphony, Lazare returns to it again and again; his hatred of suffering, physical or moral, becomes an obsession with him:

Et c'était surtout la douleur qui le jetait hors de lui, dans une révolte nerveuse, une protestation affolée contre l'existence. Pourquoi cette abomination de la douleur? n'était-ce pas monstrueusement inutile, ce tenaillement des chairs, ces muscles brûlés et tordus?[12]

The opera *Lazare* has the same hatred of suffering for its principal theme. When Lazare's family beg Jesus to raise their father from the dead, the Savior sets the tone for the entire work:

...Avec vous, je le pleure, je pleure la misère de l'humanité souffrante. Pourquoi donc le réveiller à cette vie terrible de tourment....Quand on a vécu, on a fait son devoir; il serait injuste et cruel de revivre.[13]

And when Lazare is at last awakened he protests at the wrong that has been done him:

O Maître, pourquoi donc m'as-tu réveillé? Pourquoi cette cruauté d'arracher le pauvre mort à sa joie de goûter l'éternité du sommeil.... Revivre, oh! non! oh! non! N'ai-je pas payé à la souffrance ma dette affreuse de vivant? Je suis né sans savoir pourquoi, j'ai vécu sans savoir comment; et vous me feriez payer double, vous me condamneriez à recommencer mon temps de peine, sur cette terre douloureuse! Quelle faute inexpiable ai-je donc commise pour que vous me punissiez d'un tel châtiment? Revivre, hélas! Se sentir mourir un peu chaque jour dans sa chair...[14]

Though his family persists in their prayers to him to remain on earth, he answers:

Non, non! ne m'inflige pas le tourment de revivre, ce tourment si effroyable que tu n'y as encore condamné aucun homme. Je t'ai toujours aimé et servi, ô Maître, ne fais pas de moi le plus grand exemple de ta colère, qui épouvanterait les générations... O Maître, si tu le peux, je t'en supplie, fais cet autre grand miracle que je me recouche dans ce tombeau, et que, sans souffrir, je me rendorme de mon éternel sommeil interrompu...[15]

11. *La Joie de vivre*, *Œuvres*, XIII, 92-93.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
13. *Lazare*, pp. 301-302.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-307.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-310.

Finally Jesus consents to allow him to return to the tomb: "Oui, oui, sans souffrance, cette fois, pauvre Lazare... Ah! pauvre créature humaine, créature de souffrance et de misère, dors, dors maintenant, à jamais heureuse, pour l'éternité."[16] And the opera closes with the cry of all the characters in chorus: "Ah! pauvre Lazare, pauvre homme las, brisé de misère et de souffrance, dors, dors, maintenant, heureux à jamais, pour l'éternité."[17]

It would seem, then, that the opera *Lazare* is the finished form of the "symphonie de la Douleur" that Lazare Chanteau never managed to complete and that, moreover, it is the tardy assembling of the remnants of the poem that Zola himself once planned on the subject of suffering on earth. Alfred Bruneau was undoubtedly the "great musician" who found an "admirable motif" in the subject. The Lazare of the opera, like Lazare Chanteau, is, in one aspect, a portrait of Zola himself and as such merits inclusion in the gallery that contains the figures of Claude, of Pascal Rougon, of Sandoz and of Mathieu Froment.

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16. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

VOLTAIRE Y LA LITERATURA DRAMÁTICA CUBANA

CONTEMPORÁNEAMENTE CON EL DESPERTAR de las letras cubanas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII tal vez comenzaran a llegar a Cuba obras dramáticas de Voltaire. En esa época estaban en boga sus tragedias en España,[1] y como entonces Cuba reflejaba fielmente los gustos literarios existentes en la Península,[2] no sería de extrañar que en la isla por lo menos se leyera su producción teatral.[3]

Otro probable medio de introducción puede haber sido la inmigración de los colonos franceses procedentes de Haití quienes, huyendo del furor de sus esclavos en rebelión, vinieron a refugiarse en la provincia oriental de Cuba. Poco después de su llegada construyeron un teatro en Santiago en el cual representaban tragedias en su propio idioma.[4] Dada la popularidad de Voltaire, a quien ellos ciertamente conocían,[5] no sería demasiado aventurado suponer que en el repertorio incluyeran alguna tragedia suya.

De todas maneras, dejando a un lado estas prometedoras posibilidades, puedo indicar categóricamente que en 1800 se llevó a escena en la Habana una tragedia de Voltaire. Era la traducción de *Zaïre,* hecha por Vicente García de la Huerta con el título de *Jaira,* y se representó el doce de noviembre en el teatro del Circo por una compañía de "cómicos del país."[6]

1. Voltaire fué autor favorito de los traductores españoles de esta época. Clavijo y Fajardo tradujo *Semíramis;* Olavide *Zaira;* García de la Huerta la misma con el nombre de *La fe triunfante del amor y cetro, o La Xaira;* Tomás Iriarte *El huérfano de China;* su hermano Bernardo *Tancredo;* José Joaquín Mazuelo *Sofonisba;* Mariano Luis de Urquijo *La muerte de César;* Bernardo María de Calzada *Alcira o Los americanos;* José Antonio Porcel *Mérope;* Rodríguez de Ledesma *Mahoma;* y Dionisio Solís comenzó un arreglo de esta última, que no concluyó, y tradujo *La Prude* con el título de *La Sevillana.*

2. Para ver la estrecha relación durante estos años entre la vida teatral en Cuba y la de España, puede consultarse mi artículo *Representaciones teatrales en Cuba a fines del Siglo XVIII, HR,* XI (1943), 64-71.

3. Puede afirmarse que en Cuba circulaban numerosos libros europeos. En 1777 escribía el Obispo Santiago José de Echevarría en carta al Inquisidor General de España: "Todos los días entran aquí [en la Habana] obras nuevas que vomita Amsterdan, Leyden, Londres y otras bocas semejantes." (J. T. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Inquisición de Cartagena de Indias,* Santiago de Chile, 1899, p. 438.)

4. Bacardí y Moreau, E., *Crónicas de Santiago,* Santiago de Cuba, 1925, I, 323.

5. No hay duda de que estos colonos conocían a Voltaire antes de emigrar a Cuba. B. S. Hunt dice de los haitianos por 1860: "Many of the educated [Haitians] are about where the French were when they left the island. They believe in Voltaire, whom I have not infrequently heard them characterize as the greatest man who ever lived." *Remarks on Hayti, as a Place of Settlement for Afric-Americans,* Philadelphia, 1860, p. 18.

6. El hecho de que fueran "cómicos del país" tiene más importancia de la que comúnmente debiéramos de conceder a esta noticia si sabemos que hasta entonces las compañías teatrales en la isla habían sido casi en su totalidad españolas, con repertorios usualmente escogidos en la península. En esta ocasión, por el contrario, eran

Para que no falte ningún detalle sobre la representación de *Jaira*, sabemos hasta la manera en que desempeñaron sus partes los noveles actores. Ventura Pascual Ferrer, crítico teatral que tanto bien haría a estos cómicos desde las columnas del *Regañón de la Havana*, con su usual mezcla de humorismo y buen gusto, comentaba:

Los actores se revistieron de un carácter hinchado, violento, y por consiguiente muy distante del natural. El que hizo a Orosmán, después de no ayudarle en nada su lengua, tomó una expresión tan altisonante y un tono tan gritón que a tener menos interés su papel hubiera sido insufrible. La dama que hizo a Jaira, siempre la misma en sus expresados defectos [de la no modulación de la voz y el acompañamiento a compás que hace de los versos con la acción de las manos]. Lusiñán nos fastidió hasta lo sumo con una larga y pesada relación, dejándonos muy contentos con no haber vuelto a salir más...[7]

Quizás más importante aún que la manera en que se condujeron los actores, es la opinión del crítico sobre la pieza misma. Dice Ferrer:

Esta tragedia, que en su original es una de las seis de la fama, sin embargo, no deja de tener sus defectos, pues por querer observar en ella la acción de lugar, cae el autor en muchas impropiedades e inverosimilitudes. Por ejemplo: ¿Qué razón hay para que Lusiñán, después de verse libre por la mediación de Jaira, se haya de venir al mismo palacio a tener un rato no corto de conversación con ella? ¿Qué razón hay para que el oculto hermano de Jaira tenga una cita con ésta, en el mismo salón de palacio, lugar el menos propio para semejante acontecimiento? ¿No fuera más natural y más verosímil que cada lance pasase en su lugar propio con la decoración correspondiente que es una de las cosas que más contribuyen a la ilusión? Pero no señor, entre los dramaturgos rigurosos se han de observar perfectamente las tres unidades aunque para conseguirlo se sacrifiquen la propiedad, la verosimilitud y el buen gusto, resultando de aquí que por huir de Escila van a caer en Caribdis. Añádase también que las escenas demasiado sanguinarias en donde mueren muchos personajes, en vez de causar terror causan horror; y no es éste el efecto que deben excitar las tragedias en los circunstantes.[8]

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actores cubanos, y entre ellos se encontraba, haciendo sus primeros ensayos profesionales, el que más tarde sería actor predilecto del público habanero y fundador del género criollo en Cuba: Francisco Covarrubias. Puede afirmarse, por tanto, que en los primeros esfuerzos organizados en la isla para tener un teatro propio, ya se encuentra entre las obras escogidas una tragedia de Voltaire.

7. *Regañón de la Havana*, 9 de diciembre, 1800, p. 87.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Durante el primer tercio del siglo XIX, las tragedias de Voltaire se hicieron popularísimas en la América hispana desde Méjico hasta Chile.[9] Era el momento en que las nuevas repúblicas ganaban su independencia en Boyacá, Carabobo, Junín y Ayacucho, y en tales circunstancias las rebeldes andanadas de Voltaire auxiliaban a los separatistas en la lucha política. Entre ese grupo de adalides de la independencia que leían y hasta vertían al castellano tragedias del pensador francés, figura distinguidamente el cubano José María Heredia,[10] traductor de *Mohamed o El fanatismo.*

La versión que de esta tragedia hizo Heredia quedó terminada en 1826 mientras, exilado de su patria por el gobierno colonial español, residía en la hospitalaria tierra mejicana. Y encariñado con esta obra, nuevamente se ocupó de ella para corregirla en 1836 y dejarla como una de sus más limpias y felices traducciones.[11]

La influencia de Voltaire en Heredia fué más profunda que el mero hecho de suministrarle material para esta traducción. Las ideas mismas que sobre el concepto artístico de la tragedia tenía el poeta cubano parecen estar fecundadas por las del luchador francés. En particular, la opinión que sobre Shakespeare expresa Heredia es muy semejante a la manifestada por Voltaire.[12] Dice Heredia, comentando una visita a un teatro de Nueva York en la primavera del 1824:

La tragedia que se representaba la primera noche que asistí era la *Vida y muerte de Ricardo III* por Shakespeare. Su título sólo basta para probar que es lo que debía ser, un monstruo. Allí, al lado de rasgos divinos se ven las bufonadas más indecentes y las trivialidades más fastidiosas. La acción de la pieza dura ocho años, y en ella mueren un sinnúmero de personas, Allí se ven revueltos reyes, cortesanos, niños, alguaciles, obispos y espec-

9. Según Olavarría y Ferrari (*Teatro en Méjico*, I, 209), en 1824 se representaba en Méjico *Alzira* con el nombre de *Elmira* [¿por confusión quizás con *Zelmire* de Du Belloy?] En Venezuela Bello tradujo *Zulima;* en Colombia estaban de moda sus tragedias, especialmente "las que contenían ardientes efusiones de liberalismo y apóstrofes contra la tiranía y la superstición; y en Chile el boliviano Vicente Blanco Encalada tradujo *Merope*, la cual fué representada en Santiago en 1828 (Menéndez y Pelayo *Historia de la poesía hispanoamericana*, I, 358-359, y II, 44 y 280). Igualmente el mejicano M. E. de Gorostiza estrenó en 1818 la comedia *Indulgencia para todos*, basada en el apólogo de Voltaire *Memnon o la cordura humana*, y Fernando Calderón escribió una obra dramática titulada *Zadig*. (C. González Peña, *Historia de la literatura mexicana*, México, 1940, p. 181.)

10. Es necesario no confundir a este José María Heredia que escribía en castellano con el poeta del mismo nombre que escribía en francés. Miembros ambos de la misma ilustre familia, nacidos ambos en la región oriental de Cuba y distinguidos poetas los dos, fácil es incurrir en la confusión. Puede evitarse si se recuerda que el Heredia parnasiano de *Les Trophées* vivió de 1842 a 1905, y el estudiado aquí, autor de la inmortal oda a *El Niágara*, vivió de 1803 a 1839. Este último, el más grande de los poetas líricos cubanos, está considerado, con Bello y Olmedo, como uno de los tres mejores poetas hispanoamericanos de esta época.

11. González del Valle, F., *Cronología herediana*, Habana, 1938, p. 201 y 303.

12. Véase, por ejemplo, la *Lettre philosophique no.* 18, titulada *Sur la tragédie.*

tros. Hay ajusticiado, entierro, coronación y batalla: uno a quien sacan a ahorcar pregunta si está en el día de la conmemoración de los difuntos, y esto da lugar a la más ridícula digresión. Empero, entre éstas y otras infinitas barbaridades saltan rasgos brillantísimos de genio, como relámpagos de una gran nube obscura y tempestuosa. Shakespeare era un ignorante, pero un gran genio: fué rústico, desaliñado, pero siempre original y a veces natural y sublime. En vano otros han procurado arrebatarle la palma trágica, él descuella aún en el teatro inglés como un coloso antiguo y destrozado, y todos los que le siguieron se han obscurecido delante de su gigantesca elevación.[13]

Ya que tan semejante es el concepto que sobre la tragedia tienen Voltaire y Heredia, no ha de extrañarnos que mientras éste se tomaba libertades con otros autores hasta el punto de suprimir, variar, o añadir escenas a las adaptaciones que de ellos hacía,[14] al traducir a Voltaire, por el contrario, le sigue con notable fidelidad. La comparación de cualquier parte de la versión castellana con el original francés puede servir de ejemplo. Presento para ese fin un trozo del diálogo entre Zopiro y Mohamed en la escena quinta del segundo acto para que el lector compruebe la justeza de la traducción, y de paso admire el perfecto dominio de la elocución poética y la sorprendente facilidad de los endecasílabos asonantados de Heredia:

ZOP. *Qui?*
MOH. *La nécessité,*
Ton intérêt.
ZOP. *Avant qu'un tel nœud nous rassemble,*
Les enfers et les cieux seront unis ensemble.
L'intérêt est ton dieu, le mien est l'équité;
Entre ces ennemis il n'est point de traité.
Quel serait le ciment, réponds-moi, si tu l'oses,
De l'horrible amitié qu'ici tu me proposes?
Réponds; est-ce ton fils que mon bras te ravit?
Est-ce le sang des miens que ta main répandit?

ZOP. *¿Quién?*
MOH. *La necesidad, tus intereses.*
ZOP. *Antes que nudo tal pueda ligarnos,*
se verán los infiernos y los cielos
en dulce paz unidos. Adoramos
tú al pérfido interés, yo a la justicia;

13. De una carta reproducida en la *Revista de Cuba*, Habana, 1881, *IX*, 15.
14. Tal es el caso con *Saúl*, de Alfieri.

nunca transigen tales adversarios.
¿De nuestra unión el vínculo cuál fuera?
Responde, ¿será tu hijo, a quien mi brazo
diera muerte, o la sangre de los míos,
que derramó frenética tu mano?

Pudiera hacerse notar que hay otros puntos de contacto entre Voltaire y Heredia a más del concepto sobre la tragedia y la traducción de *Mohamed*. Pero las ideas, al pasar de una mente a otra, por lo regular sufren un proceso de asimilación que luego las hace difícilmente identificables. Además, en materia de influencias, siempre hay peligro de atribuir a adaptación lo que puede muy bien ser simple paralelismo. Por ejemplo ¿pensaba Heredia en el elemento indígena de *Alzire ou les Américains* cuando escribió, casi un niño todavía, su tragedia *Motezuma o Los mejicanos?*[15] ¿Era el recuerdo de aquella pieza el que le indicara, años después, la posibilidad de "calzarse el coturno americano", escribiendo una tragedia sobre la conquista de Méjico?[16] Igualmente, los versos finales del justamente famoso *Himno del desterrado* que dicen:

"Del tirano es inútil la saña
Que no en vano entre Cuba y España
Tiende inmenso sus olas el mar"

¿no serán también una resonancia de los pensamientos expresados por Alzira cuando la valiente india americana dice al conquistador ibero:

"L'océan, qui s'élève entre nos hemisphères,
A donc mis entre nous d'impuissantes barrières?[17]

No creo indispensable continuar buscando huellas borrosas en las arenas movedizas del pensamiento. Baste con lo mostrado para establecer una innegable relación entre Voltaire y Heredia. Si el patriarca de Ferney no tiene una influencia más clara y determinada sobre el Cantor del Niágara, no es porque éste le desconociera, sino porque sus naturalezas eran totalmente disímiles. Voltaire era hombre práctico en su idealismo; Heredia siempre fué un visionario. Voltaire era frío, calculador, de sátira acerada; Heredia fogoso, apasionado, de tumultuosa imaginación. Por eso Voltaire escribe prosa como puñales; Heredia versos como flores de fuego.

A pesar de que después del primer tercio del siglo XIX fué

15. González del Valle, *op. cit.* p. 79.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
17. *Alzire*, Acto III, escena 1.

decayendo la popularidad de Voltaire en el mundo hispánico,[18] en Cuba se continuó estudiándole y ocasionalmente empleando sus ideas en la lucha libertaria mantenida por los literatos cubanos.[19] Resulta sorprendente, no obstante, que en 1867 apareciera de nuevo su influencia en la literatura dramática de la isla. Y más sorprendente es aún que sucediera en *Aristodemo,* tragedia hasta ahora tan decantadamente griega, del poeta Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces.

Desde que Enrique Piñeyro publicó en 1868 su admirable ensayo sobre esta tragedia,[20] ha sido cosa sabida por los conocedores de la literatura cubana que Luaces se apartó de la prístina simplicidad de la leyenda recogida por el geógrafo Pausanias, así como de las dramatizaciones hechas por Dottori y por Monti, al inventar un nuevo personaje, el sacerdote Theon. La explicación del por qué lo hizo y de dónde surgió la idea de su personaje, sin embargo, está aun por ofrecerse. A ese fin desearía señalar que Theon es, en mi concepto, otra reaparición del Mohamed volteriano.

En primer lugar, sabemos que el patriotismo de Luaces, obligado a callar por la entonces constante represión del sistema colonial español, buscaba excusas para cantar bajo el innocuo disfraz de temas griegos o polacos a la libertad de Cuba.[21] Al atacar al desgobierno español en su patria, no podía olvidar que era aquél una bicéfala serpiente: era militarista y era teocrático. Por tanto, una tragedia en que el patriotismo de Aristodemo se viera aniquilado por la superchería de un clericastro como el que Theon personifica, era una lección útil a sus conciudadanos.

Acéptese esta explicación o no, permanece aún el hecho innegable de que Theon muestra notabilísimas reminiscencias del Mohamed volteriano. La figura central de la tragedia de Luaces es más bien Theon que Aristodemo, igual que es Mohamed quien lleva consigo los hilos de la urdimbre en la obra de Voltaire. Ambos son cínicos, consumados hipócritas, arteros en el empleo del poder espiritual para nefandos fines temporales y personalísimos. Ambos, en su innoble lubricidad, desean la hija de un patriota sincero, y con sus cobardes maquinaciones consiguen la muerte de Aretea y Aristodemo el uno, de Palmira y Zopiro el otro. Ambos se valen de un

18. Dice Sarmiento en 1845: "Desde entonces [1830] empiezan a llegarnos libros europeos que nos demuestran que Voltaire no tenía mucha razón, que Rousseau era un sofista ... etc." (*Facundo*, Ed. Losada, 1938, p. 121).

19. Se comprobará esta afirmación escudriñando, por ejemplo, los tomos del *Centón epistolario de Domingo del Monte*, Habana, 1926. En especial véase: I, 156, III, 126, y IV, 50.

20. Aparece este ensayo en su obra *Estudios y conferencias de historia y literatura*, New York, 1880, pág. 233-246, y también a manera de prólogo a la edición de *Aristodemo* hecha por la Compañía Cubana de Publicaciones, Habana, 1919.

21. Léanse, entre otras, sus composiciones *La caída de Misolonghi* y *A Varsovia.*

lugarteniente que les sirve de confidente y auxiliar: Melas en el caso de Theon, Omar en el caso de Mohamed. Ambos se descubren irreverentemente incrédulos; ambos exigen ciega sumisión a sus órdenes insistiendo en que proclaman la suprema voluntad del dios al cual fingen servir y obedecer; ambos representan el poder envilecido del fanatismo haciendo perecer a los nobles representantes del sincero amor patrio. Mohamed y Theon son, por tanto, la misma bestia con distinto nombre. Voltaire la hizo árabe para escapar a las iras de la reacción francesa. Luaces la hizo griega para burlar la censura de la reacción española.

Después de 1867, apagado ya el entusiasmo neoclásico primero por el torrente romántico y luego por las nuevas corrientes de fines del siglo, ha sido infructuosa tarea buscar influencias directas entre escritores dramáticos posteriores. Puede afirmarse, no obstante, que continuaba en boga la lectura de algunas tragedias de Voltaire. Así se infiere del hecho revelador de que en 1874 se hiciera en la Habana una edición de *Zaira* por el impresor A. Lagriffoul.[22]

Al indicar que se leyesen y representasen en Cuba obras de Voltaire desde 1800 o quizás antes, y que directamente influyera este autor en la producción dramática de los dos mejores poetas de la isla, he deseado tan sólo arrojar luz sobre un sector poco conocido de los estudios volterianos. Ojalá sirva esta contribución, de paso, para sugerir investigaciones similares que conduzcan a un conocimiento más amplio de la relación entre Voltaire y las letras hispánicas en general, así como también de su influencia en el ideario revolucionario de las jóvenes repúblicas iberoamericanas.[23]

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22. He visto un ejemplar en la biblioteca de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, en la Habana.

23. Existen ya trabajos en que se estudian algunos aspectos de esta obra o que contienen datos útiles a nuestro propósito. Tales son: Lois F. Strong, *Bibliography of Franco-Spanish Literary Relations (Until the Nineteenth Century)*, New York, 1930; Paul Mérimée, *L'influence française en Espagne au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1936; Alfonso de Salvio, *Voltaire and Spain*, en *Hispania*, VII (1924), 69-110, 157-164; Jefferson Rea Spell, *Rousseau in the Spanish World before* 1833, Austin, 1938; y los ensayos editados por Arthur P. Whitaker bajo el título de *Latin America and the Enlightenment*, New York, 1942.

INTERVOCALIC OCCLUSIVES IN "EAST" AND "WEST" ROMANCE

WHILE THE IDEA OF A CLEAVAGE between the East and the West of the Romance domain is not new, considerable uncertainty reigned in the minds of earlier linguists concerning its precise nature. Geographical and historical factors lent themselves to this confusion. On the one hand, Dacia, permanently severed from communication with the rest of Romania in the Sixth Century, presented an ideal possibility of linguistic cleavage, with isolated Roumanian left standing in opposition to the rest of the Romance languages with their territorial contiguity; this opposition appeared strengthened by certain linguistic phenomena (post-posed article, conservation of certain elements of the Latin declensional scheme, and of segments of the Classical phonology and vocabulary, Slavic instead of Germanic lexical innovations, etc.). On the other hand, the eastern position of Italy with respect to Gaul and Iberia, the barrier of the Alps, the existence of a former Latin bridgehead across the Adriatic in the form of the provinces of Moesia and Illyricum, coupled with other linguistic factors (fall of final *-s*, noun plurals from what seems to be the nominative rather than the accusative or the oblique, partial retention of intervocalic consonants in their original form) led to the rather indefinite formulation of an Italian-Roumanian "East" as opposed to a Franco-Hispanic "West".[1]

It remained for the linguists of the present generation to come to a precise definition of the nature and causes of the supposed cleavage, localizing it in time and space. W. von Wartburg is the pioneer in this field. In his article *Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume*,[2] he offers a painstaking analysis of the facts which lead him to postulate a fundamental linguistic unity between Roumania and Italy south of a line running from Spezia to Rimini, as against another fundamental unity embracing northern Italy,

1. Typical of this somewhat confused state of mind, to cite but one instance, is Bourciez, (*Eléments de linguistique romane*, Paris, 1930), who seemingly uses "Orient" and "Occident" to distinguish between Dacia and the rest of the Romance world, "Est" and "Ouest" to differentiate between Dacia and Italy on the one hand and the remaining Romance countries on the other. Speaking of the article (227c) he says, "En Orient fut préféré dès le début l'ordre *homo ille*" (cf. also 228a, 237, 213a, for the survival of a specific dative case); but in the matter of proparoxytonic retention (152a) he says, "sur ce point, les langues de l'Est (italien, roumain) s'opposent assez nettement à celles de l'Ouest (espagnol, provençal, français)"; and in discussing intervocalic consonants (171), "l'Est du domaine roman s'oppose ici à l'Ouest d'une façon très nette".

2. *ZRP* LVI (1936), 1-49. His position is restated in his *Posizione della lingua italiana*, Firenze, 1940.

Gaul and Iberia, with some fluctuation on the part of Sardinia and Corsica. This linguistic cleavage is accepted in its entirety (though its causes are not) by G. Devoto,[3] and is restated, in the form of a phonological law, without any discussion as to causes, by R. A. Hall, Jr.[4]

Von Wartburg's contention is the following: East and West Romance are distinguished by two fundamental phonological differences, the fall vs. the retention of final *-s*, and the conservation vs. the sonorization and fall of intervocalic occlusives. Other factors brought into the discussion, but discarded (page 15), because they do not coincide with the geographical line of the cleavage, are the change of *-ct-* to *-χt*, *-i̯t-*, vs. its retrogressive assimilation to *-tt-* or change to *-pt-*, and the change of *ú* to *ü* vs. its retention. The Spezia-Rimini line is chosen because to the north of it both late retention of final *-s* and sonorization and fall of intervocalic occlusives appear.

Von Wartburg is definite in his rejection of substratum influences in the development of at least one of his two fundamental differences. He states (page 4) that Gaulish inscriptions show frequent fall of final *-s*, and his explanation is that whereas Dacia was practically depopulated of its original inhabitants and resettled by rough Roman soldiers and colonists who brought with them the "rustic" Italian habit of dropping final *-s*, Gaul and Iberia were somewhat aristocratically latinized by means of towns, schools, state officials and the upper ranks of society. One is tempted to wonder why these conservative influences should have worked only in favor of final *-s*, and not in favor of intervocalic occlusives, *-ct-*, and *ú*. What was the social and cultural background of northern Italy which led it to join distant and aristocratic Gaul and Iberia rather than the supposedly more untutored but geographically closer center and south of Italy? The author does not enlighten us. A minor weakness in his demonstration is that in his eagerness to prove West Romance conditions and the late retention of final *-s* north of the Spezia-Rimini line, he uses as evidence not only cases of real survival appearing in ancient texts and present-day dialects, but also forms indicating the *fall* of *-s* (*le stela*)[5] and feminine plural forms in *-i* appearing in thirteenth-century Bologna documents (*carti, chaxi*), which, he says, must come from *chartas, capsas* (why not from dative-ablative *chartis, capsis*, with normal fall of final *-s*?)

3. *Storia della lingua di Roma*, Bologna, 1940.
4. Review of Pei, *The Italian Language*, *Language*, XVII, 3 (1941), 263-269.
5. This, he says, indicates derivation from *stellas*, not from *stellae*. Granted. But does this necessarily prove late fall of final *-s* in *stellas*? The dialect in question may not have felt the need for a distinction between singular and plural, since the article

Devoto (page 296), approaching the problem from his classicist's background, accepts von Wartburg's Spezia-Rimini line *in toto*, but postulates entirely different reasons: the geographical border of the Appennines, the ethnical border, with a former Celtic-speaking region to the north of the line, and the substitution of an east-west arrangement of roads for the former north-south network. The first of these reasons leads us to wonder why the Alps could not have served far more effectively than the Appennines as a linguistic frontier; if the Appennines did so serve, why does their effectiveness end at the Adriatic coast instead of being carried down into central and southern Italy? The second is the substratum argument which von Wartburg wisely avoids; Venetia and Friuli, north of the line, do not have a Celtic substratum; yet they share with the rest of the north and with Gaul the tendency to retain final *-s* and sonorize intervocalic surds. The last point is something which Devoto does not at all conclusively prove, and for which the services of historians rather than linguists are needed; but if the east-west road axis should prove true, it would nevertheless be in conflict with Italian-Roumanian unity, for both it and the Spezia-Rimini line tend to break all territorial continuity and land lines of communication between centro-southern Italy and Dacia, leaving nothing but overseas contact, unsatisfactory at best, as admitted by Devoto himself (page 299).

Hall, while submitting no element of evidence or causation, and concentrating upon only one of von Wartburg's two fundamental linguistic features, is perhaps the most rigid assertor of the cleavage between East and West Romance. He formulates the "law" with respect to intervocalic occlusives (p. 264): "...the cleavage between East and West Romance in what might well be called the 'West Romance sound-shift' of intervocalic occlusives (double unvoiced > single unvoiced; single unvoiced > single voiced; single voiced drops)"; and he goes on to claim the prevalence of East Romance conditions in this respect in Tuscany and of West Romance conditions in northern Italy, with "the consequent conclusion" (p. 265) "that words showing the West Romance sound-shift (*strada, madre, riva, pagare*) are borrowings from North Italian or other West Romance dialects".

The situation, in summary, is the following: a definite linguistic cleavage between "East Romance" (Roumanian, "Dalmatian",

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supplied that distinction, much as modern spoken French does not feel the need for a distinction between *étoile* and *étoiles*, which the article supplies. Furthermore, the article *le* in *le stela* indicates a mixture of forms and derivations which von Wartburg does not take into account.

south and central Italian) and "West Romance" (north Italian, including both Venetian and Gallo-Italian groups, Rhaetian, French, Provençal, Spanish and Portuguese) is claimed by followers of the von Wartburg-Devoto-Hall school; they are not at all agreed as to the time when the cleavage occurred,[6] or as to its causes; they base their conclusions upon two phonological phenomena, disregarding numerous other traits, phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical, in which one of the "Eastern" languages (but not the others) coincides with the "West", or vice-versa; these fundamental phenomena are: 1. the fall of final *-s*, with consequent plural formation from the nominative in East Romance, as against conservation of final *-s* and plural formation from accusative or oblique in West Romance; 2. Hall's above-stated law for the shift of intervocalic occlusives in West Romance, as against their conservation in East Romance.

The first of these two differences seems the more obvious and undeniable, though the questions of chronology and geographical distribution appear far from solved. Whether in itself fall or retention of *-s*, even with its morphological consequences, suffices to permit us to speak of a linguistic cleavage is something which may depend upon individual taste. Fall of other final consonants, which did not involve morphological structure, the treatment of stressed vowels, or of final vowels, the retention of a pluri-case system *vs.* the complete simplification of the Latin declensional scheme, the use of *ille vs. ipse* as a definite article, or of a prefixed *vs.* a post-posed article, retention of *-ui* and *-orum* pronominal forms *vs.* retention of *-ujus* forms, or any other of a large number of phonological or morphological factors could as well be selected as the basis for cleavage into separate Romance groups. Perhaps the morphological result of the fall of final *-s* has been allowed to assume a paramount importance in the minds of "East and West Romance" believers,

6. Von Wartburg sets no definite date or century, but it is evident from his discussion that he places it no later than Trajan's Dacian conquest; while Devoto, claiming substantial linguistic unity throughout the Latin world down to the time of Diocletian (pages 281-282), places it after the beginning of the fourth century. Hall's point of view as to the reduction of double consonants and the chronology of the Spezia-Rimini line is not stated in the above-mentioned review, but transpires from a subsequent article ("Latin *-ks-* in Italian", *Language*, XVIII, 2 [April-June 1942], 117-124. Here he shows (page 119) a series of maps which indicate the *-ss-* outcome, "by the beginning of the Midale Ages," in an area including all of Italy except Piedmont, Liguria, and western Lombardy, then reduction of double *s* to single *s* in northeastern Italy (Venetia, Emilia, eastern Lombardy), by the "Old Italian Period." He finishes by stating (page 122) that the northern limit of *-ss-* runs along the Spezia-Rimini line, "as do a great number of isoglosses separating northern Italy from central and southern Italy." If the reduction of double *s* to single *s* is at all significant in connection with the Spezia-Rimini line, the establishment of the latter presumably had not yet occurred "by the early Middle Ages" and became a reality only in the "Old Italian Period."

instead of being placed in its proper perspective. But if the Italian and Roumanian plural derived from the Latin nominative is made the basis for Italian-Roumanian unity, ought not the single case of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese *vs.* the double case of French and Provençal and the vestiges of a pluri-case system in Roumanian to be made the basis for a hypothetical Italian-Iberian unity? A single phonological phenomenon, even though it be morphologically fruitful, in which two linguistic groups coincide does not necessarily establish a fundamental unity between those groups.[7]

The second divergence between East and West Romance is perhaps more fundamental if it can be truly established, since it represents not a single, isolated phenomenon (however important in far-reaching morphological results), but a general phonological trend affecting an entire class of sounds. Here we must scrutinize Hall's definitely formulated phonological law and the "West Romance sound-shift." If the law has been properly formulated, forms showing retention of Latin double occlusives, intervocalic surds and intervocalic sonants in the Iberian peninsula, France, Rhaetia and Italy north of the Spezia-Rimini line must be proved to be of learned or imported origin; similarly, Italian forms south of the line and Roumanian and Vegliote forms in general which show simplification, sonorization or fall of intervocalic occlusives must be proved to be, as Hall states, "borrowings from a West Romance dialect."

While the law holds in general for the West Romance group,[8] its working is by no means uniform for all sections, but displays interesting differences of degree. "Double unvoiced > single unvoiced" appears generally in modern times. What may be the

7. Note the complete coincidence in the matter of palatalization of gutturals between Italian and Picard, an otherwise typically French dialect, geographically separated from Italy; Italian coincidence with French in the diphthongization of *ĕ* and *ŏ*, free and checked, (though non-diphthongizing Provençal intervenes), but with Spanish in connection with *é* and *ó* (though there is no geographical contiguity); the coincidence, at least in the initial stage, of Italian and Spanish in the palatalizing of initial *pl, cl, fl* groups, as against the conservatism of intervening French, Provençal and Rhaetian. The fact seems to be that phonological or morphological coincidences between two or more Romance groups, contiguous or separated, are numerous, and that they are not necessarily to be interpreted as establishing any kind of specific linguistic unity between the groups in which they occur. It is interesting in this connection to note that Italian and Roumanian have the same formula for the palatalization of gutturals (*c* > *č* before *e, i*), a fact which was overlooked by von Wartburg in his demonstration; but lest he derive too much comfort from it, it may also be pointed out that Vegliote, the survivor of the "Dalmatian" or "Illyrian" Vulgar Latin which must once have formed the connecting link between Italy and Dacia, retains gutturals generally before *e* and sometimes before *i*.

8. Outside of conservative forms which appear to be learned, we have such forms as Sp. *sepa, quepa, coto, hoto, sauco*, and some similar forms in Portuguese and Provençal, but the conservation of the surd may perhaps be explained as due to the influx of a diphthong; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des languages romanes*, I, 434; for the retention of Latin surds and sonants in a few western varieties of Provençal, cf. Bourciez, *op. cit.*, 171b, 270a.

significance of the numerous double-consonant spellings of the West Romance tongues in their earlier stages is a matter of conjecture. It may well be that the frequent use of double consonants in Old French, Old Spanish and Old Portuguese represents nothing but a learned restoration or an orthographical device. But are we altogether certain?[9]

"Single unvoiced > single voiced" is normally true of Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal and north Italian (though the "single voiced" often passes from a plosive to a fricative; Sp. *amada, amiga, saber*, where the apparent sonant plosives really have the value of fricatives); in French the process generally goes further, to the complete fall of the single unvoiced (*amata* > *amede* > *aimée, amica* > *amie;* note also Sp. *amades* > *amáis* and popular Sp. *amado* > *amao*).

"Single voiced drops" frequently fails to operate (Prov. *plaga, vezer, fava;* Fr. *fève;* Sp. *suda, llaga vs. coa, lía;* Pt. *legar, chaga vs. eu, liar, lidar, estria*). The state of affairs throughout indicates a general tendency in the direction of the formulated "law," with cases of resistance, often carried by one language through an entire series, and other cases in which one tongue carries the tendency through beyond the goal described by the law.

When we come to the "East Romance" group, the situation is more interesting. Here, presumably, none of the phenomena of the "West Romance sound-shift" should be operative, and forms which obey the sound-shift law should be proved to be of borrowed origin.[10]

Easternmost Roumanian, which might be expected to display the

9. The Spanish Glosses of Silos offer such forms as *adduitos* and *occisiones; vaccas* appears in a Leonese document of 1002, *offeyro* in a Portuguese document of 1193. Rhaetian (Obwald and Engadine) religious works of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have *puccaus, peccadurs, bucca, inguotta.* Perhaps the most striking cases of double consonants, by reason of implications and later results, are the ones appearing in France: the *Eulalie*'s *getterent* indicates a retrogressive assimilation of *-ct-* to *-tt-*, only later simplified to *-t-*; still more important is the form *tottus*, criticized by Consentius in the fifth century, reappearing (*tutti*) in the Glosses of Cassel and (*tuttum*) in a Merovingian eigth century charter, and ultimately giving rise to Mod. Fr. *tout*, which must come from *tůttu* or *tóttu*, not from *tótu*; here documentary evidence combines with historical development to indicate the existence of a gemination tendency on West Romance soil, with conservation and even creation of double consonants extending far beyond any hypothetical date of division between East and West Romance. Outside of the occlusive field, this geminative tendency is also attested by frequent *-mmus* spellings for the first person plural of the present and perfect (cf. Pei, *The Language of the Eighth-Century Texts in Northern France*, N. Y., 1932, pages 113-117), the phonetic reality of which is proved by *sommes* < **summus*, not < *sumus; amames* < **amammus*, not < **ama(vi)mus*, etc. Reference could likewise be made to forms like *gyppus, sappas* in the Glosses of Cassel and *quaccola* in the Glosses of Reichenau, along with what may be interpreted as traditional spellings, such as *lippus, beccus, promittere, bucca, sagittarum, gutture, reddita*, etc.

10. The "learned" factor, which is invoked in the case of West Romance retention of Latin double occlusives, single surds and single sonants, is, of course, out of the question here.

most extreme conservatism in the matter of intervocalic occlusives, shows, on the contrary, complete agreement with the western languages for what concerns double occlusives. These are invariably simplified (*gutta* > *gută*, *cuppa* > *cupă*, *bucca* > *bucă*, etc.), and this state of affairs goes back to the earliest appearance of Roumanian documents in the sixteenth century. Intervocalic surds are not sonorized; dental and guttural sonants are not dropped, but labial sonants are (*caballu* > *cal*, *scribo* > *scriu*, *lavare* > *la*; note also *detoriile* < *debitores illi*—Lord's Prayer of Luca Stroicĭ, 1593; *oile* < *oves illae*—Cazania of Varlaam, 1643). The coincidence of Roumanian with the ideal East Romance state of affairs is therefore far from complete.

Vegliote, the supposed descendant of "Dalmatian" or "Illyrian" Vulgar Latin, the connection (with a watery break) between the language of Dacia and that of Italy south of the Spezia-Rimini line, shows a state of affairs very similar to that of Roumanian. Double occlusives are simplified in accordance with the "West Romance" sound-shift (*bucca* > *buka*), while single surds are retained unsonorized and single sonants are not dropped, in accordance with the "East Romance" system (*spuota*, *struota*, *raipa* < *spatha*, *strata*, *ripa*; *cotidiun*, *debete* < *cotidianu*, *debita*).

For centro-southern Italy, a complete historical picture can be presented, running from Latin inscriptional material through Vulgar Latin texts and early Italian documents to the present-day Linguistic Atlas.

Unlike the other "eastern" languages, (Roumanian, Vegliote), centro-southern Italian retains Latin double occlusives and has a strong tendency to geminate (*brutto*, *acqua*, *cappone*, *appo*, *febbre*). In this area we find the victorious counterpart of the abortive geminative tendency of Gaul leading to French *tout* and *sommes* (*tutto*, Basilicatan *amammo* < *amamus*, Neapolitan *iammo* < *eamus*, etc.). It may be said that centro-southern Italian, in this respect, not only obeys the "law" postulated for the East Romance languages (double occlusives stay), but is the *only* East Romance language to do so.

In the matter of conservation of single surd and sonant occlusives, where the other East Romance groups display complete or almost complete conservatism, centro-southern Italian shows extremely mixed results. Sonorization of intervocalic single surds, while far from universal, is very common; fall of sonants occasional. Is it possible that all forms showing sonorization of surds and fall of sonants are "borrowings from North Italian or other West Romance dialects"? Such forms are extremely numerous and extremely

popular; they appear not only in the literary tongue, but in the dialects as well; they are not merely modern, but run back to the Latin inscriptions and through the pre-Italian Latin texts of central and southern Italy.

Von Wartburg claims (*op. cit.*, page 8) that the inscriptions show evidence of no sonorization of intervocalic surds south of the Spezia-Rimini line. No special attempt has been made by the present writer to collect examples of inscriptions displaying such sonorization in the centro-southern Italian zone (such a study might prove of interest), but using and verifying only cases cited in existing manuals, we find: CIL IV 1486 (Pompei) — *pagatus;* VI 12944 (Rome) — *Amadus;* VI 15471 (Rome) — *fegit;* X 4528 (Capua) — *agolitus;* XIV 3571 (Tibur) — *sagrum.*

Schiaparelli, *Codice diplomatico longobardo* (Roma, 1929) shows numerous cases of sonorization in central Italian (Tuscan) eighth-century documents, of which the following are samples:[11] Lucca, 700 (page 31) — *eglesie* (*ecclesie* on same page); (page 32) — *sagrosancto.* Siena, 715 (page 69) — *consagrationem, Lubercianus, Aredine, sagratus; sagrati;* (page 72) — *sagramenta, Aredine* (*Aretine* on same page); page 74 — *madodinos;* (page 75) — *probe, oradorius.* San Pietro in Neure, 716 (page 86) — *aeglesias, eglesia;* (page 87) — *degreuimus, iudegati, sagramentus.*

A brief Abruzzian text of the year 819 (*Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*, no. 45) shows the following sonorized forms: *liver* (for *liber*, with sonant plosive > sonant spirant); *sagrosanctu; sicut ed alis monachi* (with *et* becoming *ed* by reason of intervocalic position).

Coming down to the earliest centro-southern texts, we find: Monteverdi, *Testi volgari italiani* (Roma, 1935) — page 27 (Umbria, 11th century) — *aulteria, dei* (for *diedi*), *pregonde;* page 62 (Pistoia, 1195) — *aguale, vescovo.* Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli* (Città di Castello, 1912) — page 9 (Tuscany, 12th century) — *sagrato, sovrano;* page 19 (Florence, 1211) — *pagare;* page 160 (Pistoia, 1259) — *lire;* page 462 (Perugia, 13th century) — *pregamo, priegal, pieje* (for *piedi*), *nero;* page 36 (Siena, 13th

11. The possibility that scribes from northern Italy may have been the composers of these Tuscan documents from the Longobardic period must, of course, be reckoned with. Placed in relation with earlier inscriptional material and later Italian texts, however, these forms seem to point to the continuation of an already existing tendency to sonorization. A basis of comparison is perhaps supplied by other documents in the same collection from northern Italy, in which cases of sonorization are far more abundant (Campione, 735, page 176) — *rogadus, pedidus, secudi, fenidum, interposido, tradida*; Trevano, 748, page 274 — *udilitatibus, prado, capide, rio, dublo;* Asti, 754, page 357 — *finido, mesuaradas, dublis, reddeduri, meliurada, terredurio, nebodes, probria, rogidus, tradida*).

century) — *Moschada, livre;* page 548 (Otranto, 15th century) — *luegy* (as against *lueco*). Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del Dugento,* XXVIII: "Si sa che *fatiga* o *fadiga* è dei dialetti toscani occidentali e meridionali"; *pogo, segondo, seguro, regare, avogado, fuogo, figo* (Dante), *miga* (Boccaccio) are among the forms cited as examples. Other sonorized forms in Schiaffini's collection (Glossary, *s. v.*) are: *medesimo, parladore, raunare.* Papanti, *I Parlari italiani a Certaldo* (Firenze, 1875; nineteenth-century dialectal translations of Boccaccio) gives us the following sonorized forms from the south: *preio* (Nola); *fatia* (Salerno); *sceze* (Melfi); *fatîa* (Matera); *digghe* (for *dico* — Bari).

Jaberg & Jud, *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (Zofingen, 1928) shows *padre,* not *patre,* in universal use throughout Tuscany, Marche, Umbria, northern Latium, northern Abruzzi, while *madre,* not *matre,* appears in all Tuscany, Marche and northern Latium; *marito* appears as *marido* in Marche, Umbria, northern Abruzzi, Latium and Bari; the same regions use *cognado, cognada, cognadi* for *cognato, cognata, cognati* (Colli goes as far as *suo goñado*); *magro* appears in Tuscany, Umbria, Marche, Latium, Abruzzi, Calabria, Sicily; *catena* is rendered as *cadena* all along the Adriatic coast, from Marche to the tip of Puglia; *fuogo* replaces *fuoco* in many sections of Umbria, Latium, Marche and Abruzzi; *formiga* replaces *formica* in most of Marche, Umbria, northern Latium, northern Abruzzi; *lagrima* predominates in Marche, Umbria, southern Tuscany, northern Latium, northern Abruzzi, sections of Puglia, Calabria, Campania, Basilicata and Sicily; *pregare* shows a sonorized form or complete fall of the original surd guttural practically everywhere; *padella* < *patella* appears in Marche, Abruzzi, Tuscany, most of Latium, Calabria and Sicily. This list could be greatly extended, and borrowing from the literary language, which might be tentatively advanced for forms like *magro, lagrima, pregare* and *padella,* is out of the question for *marido, cognado, formiga, cadena,* etc.

This confused state of affairs with respect to sonorization in centro-southern Italian, with the appearance of a definite tendency to sonorize coupled with an equally definite resistance to sonorization in the identical area, is fully recognized in existing manuals, the authors of which appear torn between the desire to generalize and set up stringent phonological "laws" and the necessity of admitting linguistic facts as they are actually recorded.

Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes,* I (Paris, 1890-1906), endeavoring to find a "phonologically legal" formula for the altogether too numerous cases of sonorization of intervocalic occlu-

sives in Italian, informs us (433-434) that surd plosives following the accent are sonorized before *a* (*strada, spada, paga, piega, bottega, priva,* etc.); forms like *luogo, ago, lago, scudo, grado, -tade,* etc. are explained by a series of slightly questionable analogies and dissimilations; the guttural sonant is described (438) as falling in Sicily and Taranto (*rua, fau, lia* < *ruga, fagu, legat*), as passing to *i̯* in Teramo and Abruzzi (*mai̯ᵊ* < *fagu*): *v*, original or coming from *b*, is described (442) as falling in the south-eastern dialects (Lecce *scriu, via, nue, faa, koa, noe* < *scribo, viva, nube, faba, cubat, novem*); to these, he adds Italian fall of *v* < *b* between two *e*'s (*prete, bere*<*presbyter, bibere*); surd plosives before the accent are described as sonorizing in Italian (443 — *arrivare, cavelli, podere, scodella, padella, pagare*), and he goes so far as to claim fall of intervocalic sonants in that position (*reale, fraore,* etc.), while sonorization is claimed (445) for palatalized *c* (*magella, ugello, dugento*); and fall of *v*, original or from *b*, before back vowels (446 — *paone,* Pisan *auto, riceuto*); lastly, sonorization of *tr* and *cr* after *a* is claimed (494 — *padre, madre, ladro, agro, magro, lagrima, lograre*), together with fall of *g* in the *gr* group irrespective of surrounding vowel sounds (*nero, intero, perezza*), and *pr* > *vr* before the accent (*sovrano*).

Bourciez, *Eléments de linguistique romane* (Paris, 1930), (405), prefers a formula whereby intervocalic surds are sonorized in centro-southern Italian in proparoxytonic forms (*segale, redina, povero*) and preserved elsewhere (*fuoco, sete, capo*), but admits that before the accent *c* passes to *g* (*pagare, dragone, aguglia*); forms such as *lattuga, scudo, strada, riva, padella, arrivare* are labelled as northern loan-words; he grants *cr* > *gr* (*lagrima, segreto*), but *tr* > *dr* only after *a* (*padre,* but *pietra*); in all of Umbria, he states, Italian primary or secondary *d* falls (*suore, paella, nio, strae, fracio, trubio*).

Bertoni, *Italia dialettale* (Milano, 1916), page 155, n. 1, after speaking of the general tendency of southern Italian dialects to preserve intervocalic surds, goes on to observe that in Potenza and vicinity there is a sonorization center that may be compared to northern Italy (*savé, avert, prevere, sfugá, affuá*), and concludes: "Se si nota altresì che frequenti esemplari con digradamento guizzano per tutta l'Italia centro-meridionale (p. e. sicil. *arrigurdari,* cal. *pigula,* otrant. *aredu,* Abr. *pajudí*) dobbiamo accettare con qualche riserva codesta norma generale della conservazione delle sorde, se anche non si voglia ammettere che la sorda possa rappresentare in molti casi un ritorno a condizioni primitive per effetto di un fenomeno relativamente moderno."

Whether or not we accept the theories of Meyer-Lübke and Bourciez concerning sonorization and fall of intervocalic occlusives in centro-southern Italian as due to proparoxytonic position or the presence of a specific preceding or following vowel, enough evidence appears to permit us to speak very definitely of a tendency toward sonorization and fall of intervocalic occlusives in that region, a tendency which, while linking centro-southern Italian to the so-called West Romance languages, places it in opposition to "East Romance" Vegliote and Roumanian, with their almost complete conservation of single intervocalic occlusives.[12] The opposition is strengthened by a comparison of centro-southern Italian's tendency to keep double occlusives and to geminate with the "West Romance" lack of gemination and the simplification of Latin double occlusives appearing in Vegliote and Roumanian.

The situation for the entire Romance area with respect to Latin intervocalic occlusives may be summarized as follows:

	Double > single	*Surd > sonant*	*Sonant falls*
Portuguese	normally	normally	normally, with exceptions
Spanish	normally	normally	normally, with exceptions
French	normally, but with occasional doubling	normally and beyond	normally, save for labials
Provençal	normally	normally	normally, with exceptions
Rhaetian	normally	normally	normally, with exceptions
North Italian	normally	normally	normally, with exceptions
Centro-southern Italian	exceptionally, with far more frequent doubling	frequently	frequently
Vegliote	normally	never	never
Roumanian	normally	never	never, save for labials

This picture, far from indicating an "East Romance" conservative unity as opposed to a "West Romance" sound-shift, shows Vegliote and Roumanian in complete agreement with the Western tongues in the matter of doubles, with the centro-southern Italian geminative tendency standing by itself, save for disturbing sporadic occurrences appearing especially in the language (French) which carries the remainder of the sound-shift to its furthest limits. In the matter of surds > sonants and sonants fall, it shows almost complete resist-

12. Yet note that in Roumanian this conservation is not absolute, since *b* and *v* fall.

ance to the trend in Vegliote and Roumanian, with centro-southern Italian occupying an intermediate position, and very disturbing cases of resistance to the trend, especially for the fall of sonants, in the western group, coupled with an equally disturbing fall of labial sonants in easternmost Roumanian. Under the circumstances, it seems more exact to speak of a general Romance trend (doubles > singles; surds > sonants; sonants fall), accompanied by conservative resistance, which attains its maximum in the centro-southern Italian retention of doubles and gemination and in the Vegliote and Roumanian normal retention of single occlusives. French is the tongue carrying this general tendency to its furthest limits, and this is in full accord with northern France's historical position of chronological leadership in Romance linguistic change. But French itself, in its occasional gemination and in its retention of the labial sonant spirant, indicates the existence of a conservative resistance which appears to a far more marked degree, probably by reason of historical and psychological factors, in Italy, Veglia and Roumania.

The Romance group that has been deliberately omitted from the picture given above is Sardinian. Sardinian presents a dilemma to von Wartburg. He admits (page 8, note 3) that the inner dialects of Sardinia retain *p, t, k* unchanged, while the south of the island sonorizes them. Elsewhere (page 16) he appears disturbed by the fact that Sardinian and Corsican join the West in retaining final *-s*,[13] but the East in generally retaining intervocalic occlusives. If the theory of separate East and West Romance groups were correct, it would seem, on the one hand, that there ought to be uniform development for intervocalic occlusives in this small and comparatively remote area; instead of this we find, from the earliest appearance of Sardinian documents (eleventh century) general sonorization in the southern area, general conservation in the central region; secondly, if the theory were true, we should expect Sardinian to go over as a whole to one or the other of the two systems in both of the major features on which the hypothetical distinction between East and West Romance is based (fall or retention of final *-s*, occlusive sound-shift). But even if we grant that north Sardinian (Sassarese, Gallurese) fall of final *-s* is an innovation, we are faced with a "West Romance" conservation of final *-s* in central and southern Sardinian dialects vs. an "Eastern" retention of occlusives in the central part of the island. Sardinian, then, appears to be the meeting-ground of "Eastern" and "Western" tendencies. But while the existence of such a transition zone works very well in favor of the theory of a

13. Has this been proved to be historically true for Corsica and the northern Sardinian dialects (Sassari, Gallura)?

general Romance trend, with gradually increasing areas of resistance, it does not work at all well for a break between the East and the West, said to have occurred at the time of Trajan or Diocletian.

Simplification and sonorization tendencies are in universal evidence throughout the entire Romance world. Their point of inception is difficult to determine, though the Latin inscriptions offer some clue. That they should go further in some languages than in others is fairly natural. To base upon them a division of the Romance languages into separate Eastern and Western groups appears unwarranted.

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TWO DANTE NOTES

I. *AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INCIDENT IN* INFERNO XIX

COMMENTING on lines 10-24 of *Inferno* XIX, the canto of the simonists, Grandgent, in his edition of the *Commedia*, writes as follows (pages 168-169):

> The burrows of the simonists are compared to the pits for baptizers in the Baptistery of Florence, which Dante lovingly calls 'his beautiful San Giovanni.' Here all the new-born children of the city were baptized by immersion, either on the Saturday before Easter or on June 24th, the day of St. John the Baptist. It would seem that to protect the priests from the throng, they were stationed in four cylindrical holes in the waist-high marble wall that surrounded the large circular font in the middle of the church. Dante takes this occasion to declare that he once broke down one of these receptacles to save someone drowning inside, and adds:
>
> *E questo sia suggel ch'ogni uomo sganni,*
>
> 'And let this be a seal—*i. e.* a document, an authoritative, final statement—that shall undeceive every one.' Apparently he introduces the subject in order to put a stop to false rumors concerning his act. We really know nothing about the curious incident, although Benvenuto da Imola, one of the early commentators, relates a circumstantial story of boys playing on the wall and one of them falling into one of the holes, from which he could not be extricated until rescued by Dante. Many such tales were quickly invented to explain obscure references in the poem. It may be surmised that the *dentro* refers, not to the baptizer's hole, but to the tank itself, from which the water had to be drawn to save a drowning baby that had slipped in.

In his remark on line 21, which he singles out, Grandgent is offering us a resumé of the opinions of commentators, ancient and modern (Casini, Scartazzini, Torraca, D'Ovidio): this line, together with the two preceding lines (... *ruppi* ...) which it is supposed to clarify, has always been interpreted as representing a move of self-exoneration on the part of Dante—inserted in order to disprove false rumors which, according to the early commentators, must have represented him as guilty of 'profanation'.

But no one has ever been able to find any indication whatsoever that such a rumor was circulated about the rescue-incident in which Dante participated: simply, commentators have felt it necessary to postulate the existence of a *chronique scandaleuse* in order to justify their interpretation of line 21 as a self-exonerating statement. And this interpretation itself has been conditioned by the biographical

approach of the commentators of the *Commedia* who, obsessed as it were by a too personal Dante, concerned always with the factual events of the poet's life, have, in this particular case, doubtless been doubly encouraged to turn biographers—since Dante himself, with his statement *ruppi*, has introduced a personal allusion. There can, of course, be no question but that in this passage Dante is referring to an event in his own life, but the duty of the commentator must ever be to weigh carefully the purpose and the extent of the 'personal' in Dante's work; in my opinion the purpose of this introduction of the autobiographical is purely artistic: to convince the reader of the reality, to open his eyes to the significance, of the scene in the Inferno depicted in this canto.

First of all Dante wishes to enable us to visualize clearly, in its minutest details, the locale that he is describing and the nature of the penalty meted out to the guilty popes. This explains his reference, beginning with line 16, to the receptacles in the baptistery of San Giovanni (*Non mi parean men ampi nè maggiori Che que' che son nel mio bel San Giovanni*[1] *Fatti per luogo de' battezzatori*) — an allusion that must have been evocative to any Florentine reader. This careful simile, for which parallels may easily be found throughout the *Commedia* (cf. xv, 4: *quale i Fiamminghi tra Guizzante e Bruggia . . . Fanno lo schermo . . . E quale i Padovan lungo la Brenta, . . . A tale imagine eran fatti quelli, Tutto che nè sì alti nè sì grossi* — compare the detail of this last line with *men ampi nè maggiori* above), leads in turn, directly, easily, to the statement: *. . . L'un de li quali, ancor non è molt'anni, Rupp'io per un che dentro v'annegava*: a statement which serves to fix the scene in time as well as in space (*non è molt'anni*), and which, because of its personal flavor (*ruppi*), succeeds in carrying out still further the manifest aim of Dante: to endow an otherworldly fact with the "reality" of an event which *actually* happened, on this earth, to Dante the narrator. These two lines flow directly out of the passage beginning *non mi parean*: this "biographical incident" is an integral part of a descriptive passage, which commentators have wrongfully plucked from its context, holding it up for inspection, a juicy morsel, as if they had "stuck in their thumb and pulled out a plum." That Dante should deflect this simile of such graphic forcefulness, for the purpose of interpolating a plea of not-guilty in regard to his personal contact ("by the way, I may mention that it was here that I broke down one of the receptacles; but it was to rescue a drowning man,

1. One must not oversentimentalize the phrase *mio bel Giovanni* by stressing too much Dante's nostalgia. This reference, after all, is on the same level as *nella vita lieta* (102): it serves to emphasize the beauty of the world of the living in contrast to the Inferno.

and not at all as malicious rumors would have it")—this interruption would be in itself an utterly inartistic procedure, and would introduce a petty, gossipy note. One degrades this passage in accepting the *ruppi* for its alleged documentary value: its function is artistic.

And this is true not alone because of the greater vividness of description achieved by its introduction: this incident of the rescue serves to foreshadow, by a kind of reverse symbolism, the later portion of the canto in which is developed the crime and punishment of the simonists. To the earlier, the lesser, situation of a mortal temporarily caught in a pit (*per un*[2] *che dentro v'avvenaga*) from which he could be saved by the intervention of a fellow human being, is contrasted the fate of the popes, damned in Hell, for whom there may be no rescue: they, too, are *dentro* — and doomed to fall still deeper into the abyss (*Là giù cascherò io altresì . . .*), each one pushed farther down by the succeeding fellow sinner. And there is a contrast, too, as regards the attitude of Dante in the two situations: in the first case he chose the rôle of rescuer evidently because he had been moved to compassion by the person caught in the baptismal font. But Dante, the pilgrim of the *Inferno*, reveals no such feeling when he contemplates the much more terrible fate of the simonists: while the pope, in his (physical) helplessness, can do naught but writhe with anger or remorse, Dante gibes at him mercilessly (as he himself says: *gli cantai cotai note*):[3] *Però ti stà, chè tu sei ben punito!* (and Vergil seemingly approves the ironic music of abuse sung

2. It seems to me most natural to interpret *un* as referring, not to a child, who, *ut mos est*, was playing around in the church, but to one of the *battezzatori* mentioned two lines above; thus *dentro* would refer, not to the baptismal font as a whole, but only to one of the receptacles in which the baptizing priests were regularly secured. In this way we would have a direct parallel between the priest trapped head downward in the receptacle (*dentro*) and the almighty priests, the popes, who are forever caught in a pit (*dentro*) from which there is no escape. If this be correct, then *annegar* must have the meaning "suffocate" rather than the usual one of "drown." This was suggested by D'Ovidio, and his interpretation is confirmed by the semantic development of *necare* (*nex*) in Latin: originally referring to violent death (not caused by a wound), this verb has developed in Romance to the meaning "drown" *via* that of "to suffocate"—a meaning attested in Latin by W. Schulze, *Berliner Sitzungsber* I, (1918) 332.

All of this, of course, sheds little light on the actual nature of the incident which occurred in San Giovanni; since Dante evidently supposes it to be known to his public, we must simply take the public's familiarity for granted.

3. This parodistic phrase, together with D'Ovidio's comments, should be added to the article of M. Faral on the Roland lines of the type *que malvaise cançun de nus chantet ne seit* (*M P.*, Feb. 1941): M. Faral has also failed to see that his result has been anticipated by Olschki in his article "Male cançun" in *Archivum romanicum* VIII, 326; here he points to the similar Italian *canzonare*, "to tease"—without, however, mentioning the *cantar cotai note* of our Dante passage. Finally, one could add to Faral's *tu cantes et lis ore de tel grammaire*, the M. F. *chanter la leçon* 'to reprimand' (*FEW* s. v. *cantare*, I, 1) and Ital. *leggere la vita, il calendario* etc., which I discussed in my book *Die Umschreibungen des Begriffes 'Hunger'* (p. 156) in refutation of *REW* 5004a.

by his pupil). Here in this scene we have undisguised *Schadenfreude*, in clear opposition with the compassion which Dante the man had felt for the victim he had rescued on earth.

But, if this interpretation of the 'autobiographical incident' be correct, what of line 21 (*E questo sia suggel ch' ogni uomo sganni*) which Grandgent translates "And let this be a seal—i. e. a document, an authoritative, final statement—that shall undeceive every one"? I would say that such a translation involves a misinterpretation of the three words *questo, suggel, sganni*. I do not believe, for example, that *suggel* means 'proof' in Grandgent's sense; throughout the *Commedia* this word is used with the meaning 'type, stamp, pattern, image, example'. Cf.:

E 'l ciel cui tanti lumi fanno bello
De la mente profonda che lui volve
Prende l'image, e fassene suggello. Paradiso II, 133.

La circular ['*revolving*'] *natura ch'è suggello*
A la cera mortal, fa ben sua arte... VIII, 127.

(where Grandgent comments: 'the spheres which *stamp* human nature')

La cera di costoro [*le contingenze,* the perishable things], *e chi la duce,*
Non sta d'un modo, e però sotto 'l segno
Ideale poi più e men traduce...
E fosse a punto la cera dedutta,
E fosse il cielo in sua virtù suprema,
La luce del suggel parrebbe tutta;
Ma la natura la dà sempre scema... XIII, 75.

(Grandgent remarks, ad 27: 'Their wax' is matter; 'that which directs it' is Nature, 'the revolving sky.' And, ad 68-69: 'Are not always the same; and therefore it (the light of the divine idea...) afterwards shines through (*sc.* through Nature's work) more or less beneath the *ideal pattern.*')

Ma chi s'avvede che i vivi suggelli
D'ogni bellezza più fanno più suso... XIV, 133.

(Grandgent: "the living *stamps* of all beauty are Beatrice's eyes, which become more potent from sphere to sphere, as she approaches God. In *Convivio* 2, XV, 27-37, Dante calls the eyes of Philosophy her demonstrations...). Similarly the verb *suggellare* is used in the meaning 'to stamp':

E però lo minor giron suggella
Del segno suo e Sodoma e Caorsa... Inferno XI, 50.

La lega suggellata del Battista... XXX, 74.

(the gold florin, according to Grandgent, "had on one side *the image* of John the Baptist.")

Così l'aere vicin quivi si mette
In quella forma che in lui suggella
Virtualmente l'alma che ristette... Purgatorio XXV, 95.

(Grandgent: "*alma* is the subject of *suggella* ... 'imprints'" — "*Virtualmente* 'by its own (formative) power'.")
The outward form of a body is the perduring stamp (imprint) left in its 'wax' by the idea or formative power:

Sì come cera da suggello, —
Che la figura impressa non trasmuta, —
Segnato è or da voi lo mio cervello. Purgatorio XXXIII, 79.

E. Auerbach, in dealing with the development of Lat. *figura* as a term referring to a plastic work and inherited from Greek τύπος,[4] πλάσις, πλάσμα (*Arch. rom.* XXII, 439), has said:

Aus der Bedeutung τύπος entwickelte sich *figura* als 'Abdruck des Siegels', was als Metapher eine ehrwürdige Geschichte hat, von Aristoteles, de mem. e rem. p. 450a 31: ἡ κίνησις ἐνσημαίνεται οἷον τύπον τινὰ τοῦ αἰσθήματος über Augustin epist. 162,4[5] und Isidorus diff. 1,518 bis zu Dante *come figura in cera si suggella Purg.* 10,45.... Über das Plastische hinaus ist τύπος wegen seiner Neigung zum Allgemeinen, Gesetzlichen und Exemplarischen.... für *figura* bedeutend geworden, und dies hat wiederum dazu beigetragen, die ohnehin subtile Grenze zu *forma* zu verwischen. Die Verbindung mit Worten wie πλάσις verstärkte

4. For the combination of *typus* and *signum* (the latter opposed to *verum mysterium*) in the meaning 'foreshadowing, adumbration', cf. the passage of Commodian, *Instruct.* I, 39, in which Lea and Rachel are declared to be the prefigurations of the Synagogue and the Church:

Inspice Liam typum Synagogae fuisse,
Tam infirmis oculis, quam Jacob in signo recepit;
Et tamen servivit rursum pro minore dilecta:
Mysterium verum et typum Ecclesiae nostrae.

Thus one could say that the *battezzatore* threatened with suffocation was a *signum* (*sigillum*) or *typus* of the popes who were really damned.

5. The passage reads: [those who inquire about the nature of dreams ask themselves] *utrum ita in animo fiant ut in membrana ex atramento litterae, ubi utraque substantia est et membrana scilicet et atramentum, an sicut sigillum in cera vel figura quaelibet, cui cera subjecta est, illa in subjecto...*

Here *sigillum* appears to represent a particular case of a "*figura.*" It is an "imprint," to use the philosophical term of Cicero which echoes the Aristotelian τύπος: *impressio* "the impression of phenomena on the soul" (which must be taken together with such phrases as *impressio signaculi* [*Schol.* Juv.], *impressio nummorum* [Augustine, *doctr. Chr.* 2,25]). For the meaning of the modern psychological term "impression" cf. also Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae* I, 84: [the soul as created by God] *est tamquam tabula rasa in qua nihil est depictum, apta nata recipere omnem impressionem, formam et figuram imprimendam sibi.*

die... Expansionsneigung von *figura* in der Richtung 'Statue', 'Bild', 'Portrait'; es greift über in das Gebiet von *statua*, ja von *imago, effigies, species, simulacrum.*

Since *sigillum* was attracted by the Aristotelian simile into the orbit of τύπος, *forma, figura*, it could take on the meaning of the last of these, = "stamp, imprint" (cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Mart.* 2,326: *remige pinnigero qua nos facit ala sigillum*[6]); finally, it could lend itself even to the meaning "proof, demonstration" (*simplex sigillum veri*); but this meaning of "proof" is only a by-product of the idea of creative reproduction 'sealed' in an everlasting sample and less simple than that of "a document, a final authoritative statement" which the Dantists would assume.

Thus, in our passage *questo sia suggel ch'ogni uomo sganni* (which is preceded by the description of the font of San Giovanni and immediately followed by an account of the fate of the simonists), it seems clear that Dante, far from insisting on his personal reputation, wishes to put before the reader the "typical image," the "exemplary"

6. For medieval Latin there has been offered by Huyzinga, *Mededelingen der k. Ak. v. Wet.* 1932, p. 53, a copious collection of usages of the *sigillum* family in reference to the creation and formation of man by Nature, from the work of Alanus ab Insulis. Cf.: *Anticlaudianus*: "Noys [= νοῦς] wird ... herbeigerufen, um das *exemplar*, die Idee geeignete Urform:

Hanc formam Noys ipsa Dea praesentat, ut ejus
Formet ad exemplar animam: tunc ille sigillum
Sumit, ad ipsius formae vestigia formam
Dans animae vultum qualem deposcit idea
Imprimit exemplo, totas usurpat imago
Exemplares opes, loquiturque figura sigillum....

Häufiger jedoch als diese Bilder [des 'Schliessens', 'Festsetzens', 'Einhegens', 'Kleidens'] und anscheinend seinem Bedürfnis nach starkem Sinngehalt besser entsprechend ist eine Gruppe von Ansdrücken, die Alanus der Handlung des Münzprägens oder Siegelns entlehnt: ... von der Natur *singulas rerum species monetans* [*De Planctu Naturae*], von Gott selbst *formaeque sigillo signans* [*Anticlaud.*]. Oder *statuit* (Deus), *ut expressae conformationis monetata sigillo, sub derivandae propagationis calle legitimo, ex similibus similia educerentur. Me* (*Naturam*) ... *rerum generibus sigillandis monetariam destinavit, ut ego in proprium incudibus rerum effigies commonetans, ab incudis forma conformatum deviare non sinerem* [*Anticlaud.*]. Das Wort *monetare* ist erst mittellateinisch, hier kann also ein antikes Vorbild nicht unmittelbar vorliegen [this is a fallacious inference *ex silentio ... lexici*; we have seen above an ancient *impressio* in the meaning 'stamping']. Was das Bild des Siegelns anbetrifft, handelt es sich hier um etwas ganz anders als die *horrenda similitudo de sigillo aereo*, welche St. Bernard in den Schriften Abaelards fand und vom Konzil zu Soissons verurteilen liess. Abaelard hatte das Bild des Siegelns auf das Verhältnis der drei Personen der Trinität angewandt, so dass der Vater *aes ipsum*, der Sohn das *sigillabile*, der Heilige Geist das *sigillans* darstellte [for us, another good attestation of *sigillare* "to stamp"!] ... Zu bemerken ist, dass die Metaphern für den höchsten Schöpfungsakt ganz natürlich auch auf andere, niedere Beziehungen der Erzeugung oder Ähnlichkeit übergehen ... Jedes Bekräftigen, Formen oder Nachahmen heisst münzen oder siegeln: *Seneca mores ratione monetat — ursus ... ipsos* (*fetus*) *stylo linguae crebrius delambendo monetans* (Vermischung der Bilder!) *meliorem ducebat in formam, — illic psittacus cum sui gutturis incude vocis monetam fabricabat humanae* (ein Falschmünzer also). Von Donatus: *at emphasis*

punishment which he is now ready to portray. And it is to this general picture which I believe the *questo* refers—not, as the commentators would have it, to the autobiographical incident *ruppi*....[7] Finally, as concerns the verb *sgannar*, I am not content with the translation "undeceive," which implies no more than the correction of any misconception. *Sgannar* itself is a *hapax* in Dante, but we find quite frequently the verb of opposed meaning *ingannare*, and this has sometimes quite clearly a religious implication, alluding to the deception caused by things of this earth.[8] Accordingly, I prefer to interpret *sgannare* as meaning "to open man's eyes to spiritual value" (this is the original meaning of Sp. *desengañar*). And so, as

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ipsum grammaticam vocat hunc, signans sub nomine numen ... Zur Bildgruppe des Siegelns oder Münzens gehört auch der Amboss oder die Matrize: *incus*. Die *incus* trägt das Siegelbild, und steht also für das *exemplar*, das formgebende Prinzip. Zugleich aber wird *incus* auch als Bild für den Mutterschoss verwendet. In the light of these attestations, the meaning 'clore' which Godefroy attributes to *seeler* s. v. in the passage of Renclus de Moiliens' *Miserere* CCXVIII, must be changed to that of 'to stamp, imprint' (likewise the substantive *seël* = 'stamp, species, kind'). I quote the passage in its entirety:

He! jovenes hom, ki por jovente
Iés de longue vie en atente,
Quant tu mires ten vis novel
Et dis ke en te fache gente
A seelé vint ans ou trente,
Caitis, tu portes faus seel
Cuides tu la mort si feel
Ke ele a ton seel s'assente?
On voit bien morir le veel
Devant le mere, et plus d'agnel
Ke de berbis sont piaus en vente.

(here the 'seal' is that of destiny as in the Jewish belief in a God who seals man's destiny in the book of fate). Cf. also *Apocal.* VII, 2-5.
A development parallel to that of *sigillum* is illustrated by the Latin word *signaculum* "seal" which (like *signum*) was used by the Fathers in reference to the sign of the Cross, but which also means "image, example" in the Vulgate: *Ezechiel* 28,12: *Tu signaculum similitudinis, plenus sapientia et perfectus decore.*

7. It might seem that I am interpreting as Fr. *ceci* = "that which is to follow," whereas the other commentators have treated it as equivalent to a *cela* pointing back to the antecedent clause *ruppi*... But this would be too rigorously simple an explanation: *questo* does indeed point ahead—to the picture which is to be unfolded before us in all its amplitude. Yet this same picture has already been begun as early as line 13 (*io vidi per le coste*...), and its outlines were beginning to take clearer shape with line 15 (*Non mi parean*...) where the simile of the font of San Giovanni is introduced. These, as well as the lines which follow, belong to the "picture" of the fate of the simonists: *questo*, in referring to this picture must point not only forwards but backwards—but surely *not* to the immediately preceding biographical incident.

8. Cf. *Esce di mano a lui che la vagheggia*
Prima che sia, — a guisa di fanciulla
Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia, —
L'anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,
Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla.
Di picciol bene in pria sente sapore;
Quivi s'inganna, e dietro ad esso corre... *Purgatorio* XVI, 85-92.

Da la gente ingannata e mal disposta [= *'the heathen'*] *Paradiso* XXII, 39.

a prelude to his picture of the popes in Hell, trapped headfirst in a pit, Dante tells us: "let this picture which I am developing (*questo*) be to you a picture of the exemplary punishment (*suggel*) which may open the eyes of Everyman to the ultimate fate of sinners (*ogni uomo sganni*)." How incongruous to imagine that Dante, at this solemn moment, could wish to emphasize a minor incident in his personal career! Indeed the *suggel* [perduring, exemplary image] *ch'ogni uomo sganni* joins in the invocation: *O somma Sapienza, quant'è l'arte... E quanto giusto tua virtù comparte;* in both passages Dante insists on the 'art of justice' (*di giustizia orribil arte,* Inferno XVI, 6)—an art which is the product of the poet's mind but which he ascribes to God.

As to the particular revelation of divine justice exemplified in the penalty meted out to the simonists, D'Ovidio has convincingly suggested the evolution of the *contrappasso* which we find in this canto. Dante, like any Florentine, must have been familiar with the form of punishment suffered by the *propagginazione* (a punishment not without its tragicomic aspects: the confessor stooping down toward the face of the dying criminal), and his own experience with the victim trapped in the font had impressed even more deeply upon him the ghastly picture of a person caught head downward. As for the guilty churchmen in question, they were easily associated with a *borsa,* a huge purse which they stuffed with ill-gotten gains. All these elements fused to produce a picture implying the utmost of tragicomic humiliation:[9] the once-mighty popes, stuffed head downward in an enormous *borsa.* In this variant of the *contrappasso,* we are allowed to see the *adaptation to poetry* of an autobiographical happening (D'Ovidio: "e questo sarà un dei tanti casi in cui ciò che sembra una mera similitudine esplicativa o esornativa, è in fondo una fonte, agli occhi del critico che risale alla genesi del fantasma poetico").

The essence of Dantean imagination consists in endowing with moral meaning a bodily posture seen in real life, so that the physical

9. The idea of the penalty of being turned head-downward is of course related to that of the unnatural in general as it appears in the medieval genre of *impossibilia* ("verkehrte Welt", Curtius, *ZRPh.* LVIII, 154), and in those descriptions of the Devil, of the Antichrist (Heisig, *ZRPh,* LV, 1 ff.), of Alanus' Antigamus, and of that Antiphysia which Celio Calcagnini (from whom Rabelais' tale is derived) must have found in medieval sources. To the medieval mind, which saw a heavy line of demarcation between right and wrong, between the Christian and the Pagan, orthodoxy and heresy, the "reversed" must have been an alluring symbol for the immoral. The *contrappasso* in general offered an invitation to the medieval imagination to shape "impossibles"; the medieval "grotesque" art drew its inspiration from the *impossible:* by the very fact of being impossible, *i. e.* meaningless from a rational point of view, it was comical; but because it was suggestive of sin and damnation, it contained the element of frightfulness inherent to the grotesque. The firmly-walled medieval world was constantly besieged by the grotesque—the menace of the abyss.

and the moral fact share equally in impressiveness. No contemporary of Dante would have had the power of making the bodily so real, and all who came after him would have lacked the moral conviction which makes the bodily *symbol* real. Indeed, his choice of a bodily symbol is the *suggel* of Dante's *forma mentis;* and he seems to be not ignorant of the capacity of his symbolizing power—since he insists on the 'aweful art of justice'.

II. LIBICOCCO

THE WORD that serves as the title of this article is the name given by Dante to one of the ten devils in the fifth *bolgia* (*Inferno* XXI). Grandgent has the following to say about the fantastic names to be found in this canto:

> Their generic designation [*i.e.* of the devils] is *Malebranche,* 'Badpaws'; *Alichino* is perhaps the French *Hellequin,* leader of the Wild Hunt; *Farfarello* seems to be a traditional demon-name; *Barbariccia, Cagnazzo, Graffiacane, Malacoda, Rubicante* mean respectively 'Curlybeard', 'Mean Dog'. 'Dogscratcher', 'Badtail', 'Rubicund.' Some of the appellations appear to be ludicrous distortions of the names of real people: there was a prominent Malabranca family in Rome; the Raffiacani were numerous in Florence; a Pietro di Malacoda is attested; and Torraca cites, among others, Canasso, Scaldabrina, Ciriolo, Dragonetto, Biccicocco, Scormiglio, which are not unlike *Cagnazzo, Calcabrina, Ciriatto, Draghignazzo, Libicocco, Scarmiglione.* The whole humorous interlude, characterized by coarseness of incident and language, serves both to express contempt for the sinners and their earthly judges, and to afford a relief from the horrors that precede and follow.

As concerns the particular name *Libicocco,* Torraca mentions the existence in one codex of the variant *Billicocco,* and he calls attention to the Tuscan family-names *Billicozzo, Biccicocco,* which were current in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and which, according to him, correspond to this variant of the devil-name. Parodi (*BSD,* XXIII, 26) explains *Libicocco* as representing a [*vento*] *libico* + *-occo* (the suffix borrowed from *scirocco*). One fails to see the humor of such a blend.

It seems to me obvious that our *Libicocco* must represent no such fanciful concoction as Parodi would assume, but a popular picturesque word already in existence at the time of Dante—a word as evocative to his Italian readers as were *Cagnazzo, Barbariccia, Calcabrina.* In view of the fact that variant forms exist (*Billicocco* and, if we include the family-names, *Billicozzo,* etc.), we can guess that the word was one which, owing either to its phonetic structure or to

the concept it expressed (or both), must have lent itself easily to playful deformation—or else, which had not attained sufficient stability in the language to resist deformation (as would be true in the case of a recent loan-word). Thus, according to my hypothesis, we may assume in the abstract that our etymon X could have been a loan-word with connotations ranging from the facetious to the pejorative.

Startling as this may appear to the reader at first glance, I propose an etymological connection with a word meaning "apricot." There is fortunately at hand an excellent study of this concept (dealing primarily with the Italian designations) in the work of B. Hasselrot, "L'Abricot", *Studia neophilologica*, (1941) XIII, 3. To take up first the semantic question, Hasselrot has shown that the name of the apricot came occasionally, via an obscene sense, to mean "a fool, a rash person":

> Il est notoire que les parties sexuelles, de la femme comme de l'homme, sont fréquemment nommées d'après des fruits. Figue = vulve en est l'exemple le plus connu et le plus répandu, mais aussi la châtaigne, la prune, la tomate et ainsi de suite peuvent prendre la même signification. L'abricot est très employé dans le vocabulaire érotique. En France, il y a *entrer dans la confrérie des abricots fendus* "se marier", *abricot, abricot fendu, abricot de la jardinière* "nature de la femme." En Sardaigne, *pirikokku* peut prendre ce sens ainsi que *varcocu* à Palerme. Le point d'exclamation (indiquant l'hilarité du sujet ou de l'assistance) précédant *krikropu* "abricot" au point 875 de l'*AIS* est un indice sûr que le mot éveillait des associations obscènes. Il y a des raisons de croire qu'abricot est ou a été un synonyme de vulva non seulement sur les îles italiennes mais aussi sur la péninsule.... Les preuves manquent, mais il ne faut pas oublier que bon nombre de dictionnaires dialectaux italiens sont souvent publiés dans un but pédagogique et évitent certains mots. *Ambricot* = colea est donné par N. du Puitspelu....
>
> Dans les grands dictionnaires italiens se trouve le mot suivant: *bericocolo* (ou *bericuocolo*) ainsi défini: "pasta dolce con farina e miele, di forma romboidale o di mostacciuolo" (et aussi *bericuocolaio* "venditore di b.")....
> M. Vidossi ne se résigne pas à abandonner l'idée d'un lien entre les deux *baricocolo* "abricot" et "pâtisserie", et il croit le trouver dans la circonstance que les fruits, donc les abricots, ont prêté leur nom aux parties sexuelles et que les noms de celles-ci à leur tour ont fourni une source abondante lorsqu'il s'est agi de baptiser pains et pâtisseries de forme quelque peu évocatrice. A ce sujet M. Vidossi a réuni une documentation impressionnante. Nous venons de voir que abricot = cunnus semble peu attesté en Italie actuellement, mais cela ne prouve rien pour le passé. [Note: Dans les *Canti carnascialeschi* (de 1559), que je me contente de citer d'après Tommaseo-

Bellini, se trouve: "bericuocoli, donne e confortini, se ne volete, i nostri son de' fini". M. Vidossi attribue à ce vers un double sens.] En définitive, j'adopte l'explication de M. Vidossi....

M. Arnald Steiger ... consacre une note à [l'esp.] *alperchon* "aumentativo de *alpercha*": "Forma hoy corriente en gallego ... empleado como moto o apodo. La misma formación metafórica se encuentra hoy en provenzal *pessegau, pessugaud, -alo, -audo*, "fou, folâtre, écervelé"; compárese el arag. *membrillo* 'torpe', *melón* 'tonto'." ... *Albercoch* peut être pris adjectivement en catalan et signifie alors "bajà, poch-seny, irreflexiu" (Alcover), *albercocada* n'est pas seulement "multitut d'albercochs" mais aussi "bajanada." Alcover rapporte aussi une locution curieuse: "Esperar que munt es joch, esperansa d'aubercoch". L'enquêteur de l'*ALI* a noté *barrakokku* = imbécile à Castelsardo (Sassari). Je ne saurais trancher si cette évolution est autochtone ou si elle a été inspirée par le voisinage catalan d'Alghero. Comment se fait-il que des noms de fruits ont été mis à contribution pour rendre l'idée de sottise? ... Bon gré, mal gré, nous sommes obligés d'admettre que c'est par l'intermédiaire d'un stage dans le langage érotique que les noms de fruits en sont arrivés à signifier imbécile: cunnus, mentula, et j'en passe, sont des synonymes fréquents d'imbécile. Alcover, toujours sous *albercoch*, donne encore un exemple qui me fortifie dans cette idée: "*Es teu aubercoch!* Expressió que s'empra humoristicament per desmentir qualcú ab resolució." Cela ne peut pas ne pas nous rappeler une foule de formules de refus, originairement toutes à sens obscène, quoique ce sens soit parfois oublié: *Des navets; De l'anis! Ma peau! Et ta sœur! Des dattes! Des poires blettes! Mon paf!* (pages 239-243).

Comme les noms de l'abricot sont souvent importés, il faut compter avec la tendance du peuple à charger justement ces mots d'un sens quelconque à l'aide d'une étymologie populaire et au prix de quelques retouches de forme. Une autre cause a été très agissante. Les circonstances ont voulu que les noms de l'abricot fussent fréquemment polysyllabes: (*crisómmolo*), (*barracocca*), (*biricóccola*), (*albicocca*), etc., présentant au surplus certaines répétitions de sons. M. Jaberg a montré avec quel empressement le peuple se saisit de pareils mots pour en faire de véritables jouets phonétiques. Il faut se rappeler enfin que l'abricot, par sa forme, en Italie peut-être aussi par quelques-uns de ses noms du type *barracocca*, évoquait des associations sexuelles. Certains ont encore renchéri sur ce thème, en d'autres endroits cette circonstance a pu favoriser la création d'euphémismes. (page 247.)

And indeed the devil Libicocco is presented by Dante as rash and flighty:

> E Libicocco: "*Troppo avem sofferto*" [we have been too patient]
> Disse, e preseli 'l braccio col runciglio... XXII, 70

His name, then, has the same connotation as do *Rubicante pazzo* and *Farfarello*. As Parodi remarks: "Osservazione di maggior conto è ch'egli [Dante], quando potè, fece una cosa sola del nome e del personaggio,[10] cercando, in quell'uniforme e monotona natura

10. This is true to the extent that Dante cannot conceive of the names of his personages apart from the characteristics which were instrumental to the choice of names. And it is this which undoubtedly explains the seeming inconsistency in regard to the name of the devil *Malebranche*: with XXII, 100 (*Ma stieno le Malabranche un poco in cesso*) commentators hesitate between *Malebranche* and *male branche*; Scartazzini, in his 1903 edition chooses *le male branche*—though for XXIII, 23 and XXX, 182 he prefers *di Malebranche*, commenting, "i diavoli dagli uncini nelle branche. Al. [cuni] scrivono Malebranche, nome collettivo di quei diavoli. Ma quando Dante usa Malebranche collettivamente, il termine si fa di genere mascolino, e qui è invece femminino"; in his 1932 edition, however, he changes *le male branche* of XX, 100 to the proper name *Malebranche*. Torraca has *le male branche* for this passage, Casini *i Malebranche:* both use *di Malebranche* for the second and third passages.

In reality the alternation of *le male branche* and *Malebranche* is most natural from the medieval point of view, for which our modern neat distinction between proper and common noun did not exist (in regard to the name *Beatrice* I have shown, in *Travaux du séminaire roman d'Istanbul* I, 162, that this character is sometimes represented in the *Vita Nuova* as a *beatrice*, "a beatifier"—a fact which has needlessly confused the editors). Since, in the Middle Ages, the name is in closest relation with its etymological value, still suggestive of its "common" origin, there is no way by which modern spelling (Beatrice *vs.* beatrice) could adequately reproduce the deliberate ambiguity of the medieval writers; for them the name is definitely no arbitrary label, but a symbol of the character, a *consequentia rei*. Dante himself seems to have reveled in the sound-symbolism of the names he has chosen:

> *I' sapea già di tutti quanti il nome,*
> *Sì li notai quando fuorono eletti,*
> *E poi che si chiamaro, attesi come.* XXII, 37-39

The medley of demon-names in this canto reveal still other medieval characteristics: we may note both the choice of the prefix *mal-* used to characterize a wicked family, as *Malebranche* (who resides in *Malebolgia*), and *Malacoda* (cf. the Saracen names with *Mal-* and *Mar-* in the *Chanson de Roland*—which is itself a parody of the Germanic principle of anthroponomastics: *Siegmund, Sieglinde, Siegfried*), and the choice of the semi-Latin participle, as in *Rubicante:* cf. the O. F. Saracen names *Baligant* (= Prov. *belugant* "ëtincelant"), *Estorgant* (from *autour*), *Aubigant* (= *albicans*), *Adragant* (from Prov. *drac* "devil"*), v. Sainéan, *Les Sources indigènes* II, 427 ff. (cf. also the name of the pagan god Tervagant which, to my mind, has not yet been explained satisfactorily: the supposed addition of *vagans* to *ter magnus, ter maximus* [epithets of Hermes Trismegistus] seems to me suspect; more probably we have to do with an * *Es-travagant*: cf. *Turgis,* along with *Esturgis, Esturgant* etc. in the Roland, and, on the other hand, names formed with *extra*—such as *Etramarin, Estramariz*). Likewise representative of a popular medieval trend is the name *Calcabrina* "hoarfrost rider"; this is in the tradition of paradoxical names which evoke, by means of the very *impossible* suggested, the airy nature of such word-inventions (it is akin of Fr. *Hurtebise,* Ital. *Fottivento*—or the name *engoulevent* given to birds).

* von Wartburg, *FEW* s. v. *draco,* writes: "Poit. *draga* ... hat in dem semantischen zusammenhang 'jurer comme un payen' nicht etwa die bed. 'payen'." I must contest this statement: this word is a remnant of the O. F. Saracen name *Adragant*—which means precisely "a heathen".

As to Torraca's idea that these demon-names contained allusions to contemporary Florentine personalities, this seems to me to be fundamentally wrong (why must commentators be ever on the lookout for the "extrinsic reality" in Dante's work?). I would say rather that Dante has drawn from the same source as had the popular imagination that created similar family names—from the inexhaustible treasures of the popular farcical mind. The same obscene conception underlies the name given to the Billicocco family, and the name Dante gave to his devil—and there can be no direct relationship between two such *derivatives*. Similarly, Molière's M. de Sottenville has a name which may be found in popular anthroponomastics: there is no need to attempt

diabolica,[11] di distinguere indizi di carattere individuale, e che, infine, i dieci nomi della squadra di Barbariccia non rimangono puri nomi, ma tutti ritornano, ad uno ad uno, nel canto seguente, e a ciascuno dei loro proprietari è attribuita una piccola parte caratteristica. Tanto è vero che Dante non crea alcun particolare il quale non continui a vivere nel suo pensiero" (compare what happens in the case of *Ciriatto*, whose name is derived from *ciro* 'pig' and who is described as pig-like: *a cui di bocca uscia D'ogni parte una sanna a porco* [XXII, 55-61]). In a canto such as this, where the poet has deliberately resorted to gross naturalism (*ed egli avea del cul fatto trombetta*, line 139), it would not be too much to assume that he is wittingly exploiting even the obscene suggestion of which *Libbicocco* was capable.

If our assumption is correct that *Libicocco* can be related to a word meaning originally "apricot," then we would have, by chance preserved in an appellative, the oldest attestation of the pejorative meaning of this word-family—much older than any of the forms attested by Mr. Hasselrot (whose complaint at the puritanic reticence of Italian dictionaries is most pertinent).[12] Moreover this would be evidence that the semantic development: > obscene sense > "foolish, rash, impatient" must have already taken place by the time of Dante.

Now to turn to the phonetic aspects of the etymology: Hasselrot

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to identify any particular French aristocrat of the 17th century—who may, too, have borne this name.

In general one could say that these names, 'irreally real', conform to the realistic description of that World of the Wicked imagined by Dante: proper names are in general a more flexible material for irrealistic art than are the rest of the words of our languages, with their firmly established associations between sound and concept. The proper name enjoys more freedom precisely because, as it tends to become a label, its connection with thought can be ever freshly renewed or transformed. Moreover, by the very fact that such an appellative is offered as a *name*, it serves to hypostatize a real being—who may, in fact, be utterly unreal: *Calcabrina*, since it is offered as a name, evokes an existent being who must bear this name. But, at the same time, the process of etymological analysis which our linguistic feeling urges us to undertake, must shake somewhat the ground of reality on which the person had seemed to rest. It is by this ambivalence of his name-coinages that Dante becomes one with the group of such "name-poets" as Rabelais, Fischart and Cabell.

11. It is needless to observe that, to the mind of the Middle Ages, the devil was not at all "uniform and monotonous"; thus, at least in this regard, we have to do with no innovation at the hands of Dante. Since, according to medieval religious tradition, Man is besieged by the powers of Evil all his days long, these could well assume infinitely various and hydra-like shapes: witness the chimeras and gargoyles produced without number in the Middle Ages—all of them embodiments of basic Evil. Here medieval art found a vast field for creation *in vacuo* (unsupported by any experienced reality), for the fashioning of imaginary forms with a *dogmatic* claim to reality—and reality in the earthy manner (angels and saints, on the contrary, represented imaginary forms of non-earthy reality).

12. The fact that a common noun shows up first in the disguise of a proper name is not isolated: the Tuscan *ciro* "pig" likewise appears first in the demon-name *Ciriatto*, and *Farfarello* is probably the first attestation of the radical *farfar-* which was to spread throughout Italy (*v. REW* 3194).

distinguishes three strata of *praecoquum* [*persicum*], *-a* (lit. "hastily ripened [peach]" > "apricot") in central and southern Italian (the north of Italy has the older type *armeniacum*). *Praecoquum I* is a form which, preserved without change of accent from the time of Pliny, has enjoyed little vitality in Italy (one finds however Calabrian *prikoku* etc.). *Praecoquum II* was borrowed (in the form *barquqa*) by Syriac and Aramean, passing from the latter language to Arabic (*bar- bir- ber- borquq*), whence it returned to Romance in the Arabic forms: it may have been brought back by the Crusaders, or it may have come from Sicily (which the Arabs had conquered); Italian examples for this second stratum are attested rather late by the dictionaries: Siena *bericocia* 1558, Lucca *bericoche* 1561, Rome *bricoccoli* 1653; Tuscany has *biricoccola, bericocola, bacocca, ballacocca -cocora*. Finally, *praecoquum III* is none other than the Spn. *albar(i)coque* et al. (= Arab. *barquq* + the Arabic article *al-*) which from the sixteenth century on made its way into all the European languages (Fr. *abricot*, Eng. *apricot* [in Shakespeare *apricock*]; Germ. *Aprikose* is derived from the Fr. [plural] *abricots*) and specifically into Italian: first (1550) in the form *alberochi -ossi*, later as *albercocca, albicocca*.

It is evident that Dante's time coincides with the era of *praecoquum II*: after the Crusades and before the sixteenth century, the time of Spanish influence. In this connection we may note Hasselrot's observation (page 46) that the cultivation of apricots, abandoned after the fall of the Roman Empire, was restored during the Crusades: mention of the fruit may be found in the Latin of Albertus Magnus and Petrus de Crescentiis (end of thirteenth century). And, since the forms *bericocia, bericoche, bricoccoli* etc., in spite of their late attestation, belong unquestionably to *praecoquum II*, we may establish a relationship between these (or, more specifically, the Tuscan forms with -l- :*belicocola, ballacocca*) and the word *Billicocco*—the variant of the Dantean devil-name mentioned by Torraca. The *-l-* in *Billicocco* may be explained either as a result of assimilation (*bericocco*[*lo*] > **billicocco*[*lo*]), or by reference to the influence of Ital. *balla, palla* (Hasselrot, page 63). Then from *Billicocco* we come by way of metathesis, to the form which concerns us here: *Libicocco*.[13]

If my supposition should prove to be true, then this Dantean

13. From the phonetic point of view it would be conceivably possible to admit the development *albicocca* > *Libicocco*, since the Avellino *arbercia* > Span. *albérchiga* = Lat. *persicum* + Arabic article) becomes Calabrian *libergia*, and *Alberto* becomes Calabrian *Liberto* (*v.* Hasselrot, p. 73). This would involve, however, assuming the existence of a *praecoquum III* (*albicocca*) at the time of Dante—an assumption which would seem highly unjustifiable.

demon-name would, as we have said, offer the first hitherto known attestation of *praecoquum II* in Italian: thus we would be able to date back by several centuries the popular semantic development. In this way, not only would the linguistic study of Hasselrot have proven helpful for the explanation of Dante's choice of this name, but our own philological study[14] would then cast new light on the former's linguistic problem.

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14. It could be objected to studies of this nature that they deal, not so much with the powerful and sublime which the reading public is accustomed to associate with Dante's poetry, as with philological minutiae of the scale of a jig-saw puzzle; in this way it is the medieval pedantry of Dante which is brought to light—by a procedure in which the modern philologian seeks to out-smart the all too smart medieval philological poet. Such an objection, then, would bear ultimately against Dante himself.

It is true that our medieval poet excells as well in the infinitesimally small as in the infinitely great; for in his creation he is seeking to imitate that God who created the heavens and the mosquito; his symbolic imagination that pervaded everything he saw, could not shrink before the infinitesimal—for therein could be traced the infinite. The modern reader has lost his medieval heritage: that meditative delight in small things, that "Andacht zum Kleinen" which inspired the artist of the Middle Ages (in architecture as well as in poetry). For today the small is futile and judged as such by the modern mind: it contains no longer macrocosmic potentialities. It is only with a conscious effort, in a self-humoring attitude, that a Rebecca West may insist on focusing on little details of life in Yugoslavia, in order that we may recognize therein the great breadth of history and thought.

On the whole, our civilization has developed away from Dante. But, as concerns the philologian himself, he is by nature still inclined to microscopy, to "Andacht zum Kleinen"; he is forever seeking to find evidences of the Whole in the part. And this pious scrutinizing of the small is, in a way, a remnant of medieval symbolic artistry which still preserves the faith that the shell echoes the universe. Thus, a philologian who retraces the minute and elaborate creation of Dante need make little effort to become medieval-minded; he is so by nature and by virtue of his profession. . . .

REVIEWS

The European Ancestry of Villon's Satirical Testaments. By WINTHROP HUNTINGTON RICE. New York, The Corporate Press, 1941, Pp. 244.

This is the first number in the Syracuse University Monographs, a new series to which we offer all good wishes. Dr. Rice's study is revised from his dissertation. He has gathered with great care examples of the literary testament form from Latin, non-French, and French sources, and he has classified these with skill. His bibliography is thorough. The best chapter of his study, in the opinion of the present reviewer, is the fourth—in which he discusses, and often reproduces in copious selections, appropriate material from Italian, English, German, Catalan, Portuguese, and Castilian literature. (He even mentions examples of the testament form in Middle Irish.) All of these examples brought together should be of real service to students of Villon and Middle French literature.

My chief criticism of Dr. Rice's book is one that can often be made of investigations that began as dissertations, namely, lack of focus. I believe that Dr. Rice could have improved his book by some rearrangement and perhaps a different title. Any study, whether an article or a monograph, should proceed neatly to a climax, from introduction to conclusion, with digressions placed in the footnotes. Dr. Rice says in his Introduction (p. 9):

> It is not the purpose here to seek for any single testament which might be said to be the one from which Villon took the idea of using this form for his satire. It may be possible, however, to show that there existed before Villon many testaments of different types, and that he may have known several of them.

But in his Conclusion the author states (p. 230):

> It is reasonably certain that he [Villon] had no previous example in mind as he wrote, but that he had acquired, somewhere and somehow, the idea of applying the legal form of the testament to the satirical urge that lay within him, and this is one more case where a great poet has caught-up an age-old theme and revivified it through the force of his personality and genius.

This Conclusion is undoubtedly correct (although I personally should give a little more credit to Jehan de Meung's *Codicille*), but, in viewing it, the reader feels that the Introduction and early chapters should have been modified and reorientated. The impression is given that at first Dr. Rice was determined to take a more decided position which he toned down on further reflection and consultation. It is debatable in my mind whether he should have placed Villon as the center of his investigation in the book's final form. Perhaps a better title would have been *The Satirical Testament*

in Medieval European Literature, with Villon discussed in the last and most important chapter.

The chapter which arouses the most controversy is the second, "Villon's Erudition." Here the author argues that Villon knew and read more than he is given credit for by most of his biographers and critics. Yet, for me, Dr. Rice then abandons this position when he concludes (p. 229) that Villon was only a "normal if not an exceptional student" (just what does Dr. Rice mean?) and that "unfortunately no concrete evidence can be offered that they [six possible sources] were available in France in manuscript form during the time of Villon." Since Dr. Rice eventually claims so little it seems unfair to dispute with him over details in this early chapter. However, I want to register a protest over an assertion repeated by him from other biographers, that Villon completed the work for his university grades at the earliest age allowed. There is still dispute over the ages required *in the fifteenth century* for a University of Paris baccalaureate and for the master's license. Rashdall, obscure on this subject, cites Robert Curzon's *Statutes* of 1215, (hardly in full force in the fifteenth century) as evidence that a candidate for the master's must be twenty (not twenty-one as Rice and his predecessors claim). The English nation at Paris fixed a minimum age for the master's of nineteen in 1252.[1] A more sober view is taken by Nathan Schachner who holds that the baccalaureate was awarded at the minimum age of fourteen with no specific requirement of age enforced for the master's license—at least, none mentioned.[2] Rashdall goes on to affirm that in the fifteenth century a man often took the bachelor's degree within a year after "coming into residence."[3] All authorities admit that the coming into residence presupposed only the ability to read and write and a smattering of Latin conversation. Since Villon received his bachelor's degree at the age of eighteen this would mean that he entered the Rue de Fouarre at the age of seventeen or perhaps sixteen. This can hardly be called precocious. He might well have said to himself, as he did, *de lire je sui jetart.* I do not stress the age at which Villon got his master's. As both Rashdall and Schachner agree, this was a grade not difficult to get within two years after the bachelor's degree (Villon took three). It depended too often upon having friends well placed among the examiners. It should be remembered that the Cardinal d'Estouteville saw fit to reform the University's regulations the very year that Villon was made a master (1452). It was admitted at that time that students were mildly perjuring themselves over requirements that could not be exacted.

I may say here, in general, that I do not think Dr. Rice is always critical

1. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.* New Edition in three volumes edited by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, Oxford Press, I (1936), 462.
2. *The Mediaeval Universities.* By Nathan Schachner. New York, Stokes, 1938, p. 129.
3. *Op. cit.,* I, 463.

enough of his bibliography. All conclusions made by others must be examined critically for what they are worth.

Dr. Rice is to be commended for pointing out that books circulated more freely in fifteenth century Paris than some scholars have seen fit to admit (p. 32). Books could be borrowed from the Sorbonne library and from the *stationarii* or booksellers. To be sure, the latter service was not free and so far as we know Villon was not affiliated with any college. On pp. 23-24 Dr. Rice might have distinguished more clearly between the study of Canon and Civil law. Civil law was not taught at Paris after 1219. Guillaume de Villon and his associates were canonists and Villon never shows anything but contempt for canon law. Most of his legal experience was of the civil type. On p. 30 Dr. Rice speaks of Villon's "rights to a benefice". More exact would be his "eligibility to a benefice"; his rights to one must have been very small. It is odd that the author cites the *Roman de Renart* from the old Méon text (1826) and ignores the Martin edition published some fifty years later.

URBAN T. HOLMES, JR.

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Simon Tyssot de Patot and the Seventeenth-Century Background of Critical Deism. By DAVID RICE MCKEE. Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, and London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, and Paris, Société d'Edition "Les Belles-Lettres," 1941. Pp. 105.

This study of the works of a contemporary of Bayle and Fontenelle is a contribution to the history of French freethought. Tyssot de Patot, like Bayle a Protestant refugee endowed with a critical mind, was the anonymous author of the *Voyages et aventures de Jaques Massé, Le Voyage de Groënland, Lettres choisies,* and minor mathematical and poetical works. From the vantage point of Holland he represented and reflected both the cosmopolitan spirit of deism, stemming principally from Descartes, Spinoza, Sir Thomas Brown and Charles Blount, and the experimental philosophical theories of contemporary Dutch medical scientists.

Tyssot's most important work, the *Voyages de Massé,* went through several French editions and was translated into English and German. The imaginary story of travel and adventure serves to lead the reader through a historical, scientific and rational attack on revealed religion. A discussion of Tyssot's place in the development of critical deism forms Professor McKee's longest chapter, in which the copious and valuable footnotes give the possible sources of Tyssot's ideas and a reasonably complete history of the seventeenth-century discussion of the creation, biblical chronology, Adam's fall, the flood, miracles, oracles and prophecies.

Tyssot's *Lettres choisies* (*c.* 1726) reflect a more profound scientific and metaphysical movement. Here he rejects the Cartesian metaphysics but shows enthusiasm for Descartes' physics and physiology. He blends Spinoza's pantheism with epicurean sensationalism and materialism. His contact with Dutch medical circles produces a reliance on experiment which antedates the similar physiological preoccupations of La Mettrie and Diderot. Gassendi, Hobbes and Locke all had a part in the development of his philosophy of science. In view of the manifold forces at work and the relative obscurity of Tyssot's *Lettres*, one might well question Mr. McKee's conclusion that "the name of Tyssot de Patot may be added to that of Regius as a link in the chain which led from Descartes straight to La Mettrie." But over-simplification is almost inevitable in generalizations that summarize. In his political and social views, Tyssot believed in progress through an advance in scientific knowledge, and condemned war, slavery, capital punishment, and the divine right of kings. His ethics are characteristically both deterministic and humanitarian. Voltaire owed him a rather minor debt, as did Mme du Châtelet.

Tyssot thoroughly reflected and popularized but hardly changed the movement of ideas in the early eighteenth century. Spinoza's critical *Tractatus* was a particularly strong influence on the early deists, both in France and England, on Boulainvilliers as well as on John Toland. Mr. McKee's study is scholarly and well presented. It is in many ways a model for the treatment of a secondary figure.

NORMAN L. TORREY

Columbia University

The French Drama in America in the Eighteenth Century and its Influence on the American Drama of that Period, 1701-1800. By LEWIS P. WALDO. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 269.

During the ten years preceding his death the author of the present volume worked indefatigably to compile material on the French theatre in America. His valuable appendices and bibliography in themselves attest to his industry and the some two hundred pages of the main body of the work have been written with an enthusiasm which is imparted to the reader. An Editor's Note suggests that had Mr. Waldo lived, he would have completed and brought up to date his documentation. It is probably equally true that here and there he would have been more concise in his developments, especially in the chapter dealing with English adaptations of French plays.

The problem which Mr. Waldo set for himself, "to determine to what extent French drama was present in America during the eighteenth century and to what degree it influenced American drama during the same period,"

has been realistically and courageously faced. Not only did he investigate the two basic issues of his subject, French drama in French and American adaptations of French plays, but reached out as well to consider the more generally unfamiliar topic of French drama in Canada during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, he did not hesitate to tackle the complex problem of English adaptations of French plays on the American stage.

Despite any shortcomings, which may be apparent from an unfinished manuscript, scholars have been offered a study whose convincingly drawn conclusions are of real significance to the historian of the theatre.

Mr. Waldo is able to state that in Canada during the period treated, French theatre productions were almost wholly given by amateurs for special occasions. Military circles had the opportunity of enjoying, among other works, those of Corneille, Racine and Molière. The Church, incensed by the showing of *Tartuffe*, did, however, itself make use of less controversial plays for missionary work among the Indians and to instruct the youth in religious colleges. Polite society, as well, indulged in amateur theatricals, staging plays either imported from France or written at home. However, there is no evidence to show that all this dramatic activity in Canada in any way influenced the theatre in our own country.

Certain American playwrights turned directly to France for dramatic material for our stage, but as box-office receipts were their main aim, comedies and farces were usually chosen rather than tragedies. There was no attempt to reshape any plays of Molière, Corneille, Racine or Voltaire and in many cases, adaptations from other French writers were little more than translations. According to Mr. Waldo, the most significant adaptation was Williamson's *The Spanish Barber* (from Beaumarchais' *Le Barbier de Séville*); the most popular was Henry's *School for Soldiers* (from Mercier's *Le Déserteur*); the most literary was Humphrey's *The Widow of Malabar* (from Lemierre's *La Veuve du Malabar*).

French drama, Mr. Waldo goes on to show, was in a great measure revealed to the American public through the large number of English adaptations which had been brought to this country. These plays ranged from the Middle Ages represented by *Pathelin* to the period of the French Revolution with Marie-Joseph Chénier's study of toleration and humanitarianism in *Fénelon*. In all, over eight hundred performances of plays, adapted from the works of such writers as Corneille, Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Fontenelle, Regnard, Dancourt, Destouches, Le Sage, Diderot, Mercier and Beaumarchais, were produced on the American stage by 1800.

From his study of French dramas in the original Mr. Waldo concludes that New York and New England were devoid of such entertainment. Philadelphia witnessed a few plays in French, but the cities farther south—Baltimore, Charleston and New Orleans—saw a large number. Handicapped by

the lack of theatrical records in New Orleans up to 1800, Mr. Waldo has added little to what is already known concerning that most French of American cities. Charleston, with a permanent theatre devoted to the production of plays in French, chiefly supported light comedy, but had the opportunity of seeing Molière and Beaumarchais, as well. Noteworthy was a production of *Mahomet*, seemingly the only tragedy of Voltaire given in the original in eighteenth-century America. Baltimore, too, was offered a variety of French plays, but comedies, light opera and farces were shown to the exclusion of tragedy.

In brief then, French drama, presented in English and American adaptations, or in the original language, played a significant role in the history of our own theatre during the eighteenth century. The problem of what influence it might have had on the fortunes of the American stage during the following century, Mr. Waldo has left for future historians.

In the century which he has treated, however, there have been since his death, and no doubt will continue to be, certain additions by scholars which will throw more light on French influences. Mr. Waldo himself should not have neglected Thomas Otway's *The Cheats of Scapin*, a translation and adaptation of *Les Fourberies de Scapin*. An indication of the popularity of this after-piece would have been furnished the author in H. K. Halpert's "Early College Performances of Otway in Providence," in the Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, Volume 23 (April 1930). Nor did Mr. Waldo consult Thomas C. Pollock's useful *The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century* (1933) in which are listed performances of Bickerstaffe's *The Hippocrite*, adapted from Cibber's *The Non-Juror* and Molière's *Tartuffe*. Interested as he was in the relations of the stage and the pulpit, Mr. Waldo would have enjoyed Pollock's quotation from a Philadelphia clergyman who wrote in 1767: "I am ashamed to combat superstition; but... must Shakespeare, the immortal Shakespeare be destroyed—shall Molière be burnt?" Then too, Pollock is one of the first to point out that Voltaire's *Folly on Both Sides* was given from the Philadelphia stage in 1769. Since this was probably a translation of the essay, *Sottise de deux parts*, Mr. Waldo is doubtless justified in excluding it from his study as it has no relation to the French stage.[1] On the other hand he does not mention the performances in this country of Dryden's *Amphitryon*, derived, in part, from Molière's play of the same name.

That certain errors or omissions should be found in a book that handles the wealth of detail here offered is to be expected.[2] Nevertheless, Mr.

1. Omission of Bickerstaffe's *The Sultan*, adapted from a tale by Marmontel, and performed in America in the eighteenth century, may be excused on the same grounds.

2. Miss Mary E. Loughrey, who at present is engaged in studying the problem of French Cultural Relations in Early Rhode Island, finds Mr. Waldo's treatment of New England carefully and competently done, although she informs the reviewer that Appendix D does not include the Newport showing of Mrs. Inchbald's *The Married Man* (from Destouches' *Le Philosophe marié*) on August 16, 1797.

Waldo's volume has set a high standard for those who wish to continue his history into the nineteenth century. A great deal of localized research has already been done, on French drama in America from 1800 to the Civil War, for instance, and it is to be hoped that an able historian will be found to carry on the task of completing and synthesizing this material.

OTIS FELLOWS

Columbia University

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*Les Lettres anglaises dans l'*Encyclopédie. By LOIS S. GAUDIN. Brooklyn, New York, 184, Columbia Heights, 1942. Pp. xvii + 256.

Nous commençons à connaître dans ses détails l'histoire des relations franco-anglaises au dix-huitième siècle. L'histoire littéraire, comme l'histoire tout court, se renouvelle périodiquement, non tant par les faits nouveaux qu'elle découvre que par l'accent nouveau avec lequel elle met soudain en valeur tel ordre de problèmes de préférence à tel autre. Depuis Joseph Texte, Dedieu, R. L. Cru jusqu'à N. L. Torrey sans oublier maint disciple de P. Hazard et de F. Baldensperger, la fortune et l'influence des penseurs ou des écrivains britanniques en France ont constitué, pour le XVIII[e] siècle, l'un des groupes de sujets les plus assidûment explorés, bientôt peut-être les plus près d'être épuisés. Les rapports de la France avec Locke, Shaftesbury, Hume, Gibbon, Sterne mériteront peut-être encore d'être précisés. Mais dans ses grandes lignes, l'influence anglaise en France a été bien étudiée, probablement même surfaite. Une question, dont l'importance est évidente, se posait tout d'abord: quelle place l'*Encyclopédie* a-t-elle accordée à la pensée et à la littérature anglaises?

Mme Lois S. Gaudin vient d'y répondre de manière précise, complète et très probablement définitive. Une telle enquête est moins aisée qu'elle pourrait au premier abord le paraître. L'*Encyclopédie* est à bien des égards le plus déroutant et le plus désordonné des ouvrages. Les indications sur les auteurs anglais ne se trouvent presque jamais là où on les attendrait. L'attribution des articles est relativement facile; mais chacun sait que les Encyclopédistes, à commencer par le plus diligent d'entre eux, Jaucourt, ont joué du ciseau autant que de la plume. Leurs emprunts à leurs prédécesseurs français ou anglais sont innombrables. Ce n'est donc point la valeur critique ou l'originalité de leurs commentaires sur les lettres anglaises que l'auteur a voulu tout d'abord juger; c'est plutôt la qualité pratique de l'information que le lecteur de l'*Encyclopédie* pouvait acquérir sur les ouvrages de ses voisins d'outre-Manche.

L'ordre des chapitres, le choix habile des citations, et les utiles index dont le livre de Mme Gaudin est pourvu permettent de saisir commodément les résultats de cette patiente enquête. Les Encyclopédistes (c'est-à-dire, à

côté de D'Alembert et de Diderot, Jaucourt, l'abbé Mallet et divers polygraphes) ne connaissent guère et sentent moins encore la poésie anglaise, sauf Milton et Thomson. Leur goût, en matière de théâtre anglais, reste timoré et pseudo-classique: Addison seul est loué par eux sans réserves. Parmi les penseurs, Hobbes est attaqué pour ses thèses pessimistes, Shaftesbury loué quelque peu, Bacon, Locke et Newton sont leurs dieux. Les conclusions de l'ouvrage sont négatives, et exprimées sur un ton par trop désenchanté. La connaissance et la critique des lettres anglaises sont certes loin de constituer la partie valable ou neuve de l'*Encyclopédie*. Il n'y a là ni vue d'ensemble de la littérature britannique, ni méthode historique ou critique. Le goût des rédacteurs de ces articles est fort peu cosmopolite et fort peu innovateur. Le lecteur de la seconde moitié du siècle qui aurait dû à la seule *Encyclopédie* ses notions sur les lettres anglaises aurait été médiocrement informé.

La validité des conclusions de Mme Gaudin ne fait point de doute. Le ton et la manière dont elle les présente sont pourtant quelque peu sévères; elle semble s'appliquer à diminuer l'intérêt du sujet auquel elle a consacré plusieurs années de travail, et conserver quelque rancune à cette *Encyclopédie* trop souvent feuilletée avec de maigres compensations. Elle fait preuve d'excellentes qualités: méthode impeccable, ordre logique, clarté d'exposition, très bonne position du problème dans l'introduction. N'a-t-elle pas cependant été trop modeste ou trop discrète? De plus en plus les meilleures thèses d'histoire littéraire écrites en Amérique réussissent si bien à s'enfermer en un sujet bien défini, à ne rien avancer que sur d'inattaquables preuves, à s'étayer sur d'innombrables faits ou textes, que leurs lecteurs les plus favorablement disposés se demandent si un peu plus d'ambition et d'audace ne siérait pas. Les mots *factual knowledge* ont fini par devenir une étroite superstition, car les idées elles aussi sont des faits, et vivifient souvent la lettre morte des textes; il n'est pas défendu à l'érudit de les aborder lorsqu'il a, comme dans le cas présent, prouvé qu'il est pleinement capable de le faire, et de conduire son lecteur vers des conclusions plus générales, peut-être même vers de légitimes hypothèses. Un étrange puritanisme pousse nos doctorats universitaires à fuir, non seulement les grâces et le plus innocent sourire, mais le moindre risque ou la moindre aventure spirituelle, et tout ce qui pourrait, chez l'apprenti-"scholar", rappeler ce vulgarisateur méprisé, ce fantaisiste et ce généralisateur, le critique littéraire.

La sévérité de Mme Gaudin sur la médiocrité des articles de l'*Encyclopédie* où sont jugées les lettres anglaises est pleinement justifiée. Encore pourrait-elle être nuancée, et vaudrait-il la peine de rappeler que c'est là aborder l'*Encyclopédie* par un de ses plus petits côtés. Il vaudrait en outre la peine de situer ces articles à leur époque, c'est-à-dire à un moment où l'histoire littéraire n'a même pas encore tenté de naître. Ni Laharpe, ni Marmontel, ni Thomas Warton ne font alors beaucoup mieux que nos hâtifs

compilateurs. Au fond, Voltaire et Diderot seuls ont été, par moments, de grands critiques de la littérature anglaise. Peut-être n'était-il pas déplacé de rappeler que les années 1750-60 où furent préparés la plupart des articles de l'*Encyclopédie* comptent, dans l'histoire de l'influence littéraire anglaise en France, parmi les plus stériles du siècle. Ce n'est guère qu'à partir de 1760 que l'on pourra connaître Richardson, Sterne, le *Bard* de Gray pour lequel s'enthousiasmera Diderot, Ossian; c'est alors que Shakespeare, le drame de Lillo et de Moore seront le plus goûtés. A cet égard comme à beaucoup d'autres, c'est la seconde moitié du siècle, jusqu'ici la moins étudiée, qui est la plus variée, la plus féconde, la plus curieuse. Enfin, il n'était pas défendu à Mme Gaudin, bien que son sujet ne fût pas l'histoire des relations franco-anglaises au XVIII[e] siècle, de dégager en quelques pages les conclusions fragmentaires, mais précises bien que négatives que son excellent ouvrage renferme implicitement et permet sur la vraie portée de l'influence littéraire anglaise en France. Il est toujours opportun de montrer, pièces en main, à ceux qui crurent bon de faire le procès du XVIII[e] siècle comme anti-français et contaminé par les idées anglaises, combien peu l'on connut vraiment et combien on déforma, pour les franciser, les idées et les lettres anglaises.

L'ouvrage est écrit avec une simplicité claire, sobre, qui manque de chaleur et d'éclat, mais a son charme. Les prénoms des auteurs anglais (Guillaume Browne, Jacques Thomson, Jean Locke) sont traduits en français, à la mode d'autrefois, ce qui n'est pas sans dépayser parfois le lecteur.

HENRI PEYRE

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La Pensée de Sainte-Beuve. Par MAXIME LEROY. Paris, Gallimard, 1940. Pp. 249.

Sainte-Beuve, praised and damned for being versatile (English sense, French sense), continues to arouse admiration and hostility at home and abroad. He has been called *l'Accusé de notre époque* (*Temps*, 17 octobre 1937); he is also *le Défendu de notre époque*. He has lately been ridiculed in Mr. Matthew Josephson's lurid *Victor Hugo* (1942); Josephson dislikes his nose, "long," "bulbous," "ferrety" and otherwise unattractive, insists that he was a "small, thin fellow," indeed a "wretched little Sainte-Beuve," and concludes that he had a "waspish soul." Now it is impossible always to esteem Sainte-Beuve's personal conduct and he was sufficiently the victim of what a Frenchman has called with direct reference to him our "natural servitudes," but so for that matter was Hugo, even though, to Josephson, Hugo's most public adultery was a "grand infatuation"—to which

Sainte-Beuve allowed himself to make "insolent allusion."[1] In any case it is refreshing to turn to the book of Leroy, who has reservations about his man but who is a scholar, and interested in ideas.

Leroy is primarily concerned with Sainte-Beuve the liberal. He sets aside personal preferences, he does not personally care whether Sainte-Beuve was mystic or infidel, imperialist or democrat, classic or romantic; as an observer Leroy is simply glad that Sainte-Beuve shared so many hopes and suffered so many disillusionments, since all this makes Sainte-Beuve so fascinating as a summary of literary and political feeling in the nineteenth century. Sainte-Beuve is to him "le plus extraordinaire esprit du siècle" (page 223), initiator, promoter, or at least "herald," of all its great schools and emotions.

The first chapters constitute a readable, not especially original account of the earlier part of Sainte-Beuve's career. Before the book is finished Leroy has quoted all the inevitable passages that any self-respecting Sainte-Beuve commentator includes: the one about "l'esprit le plus brisé et le plus rompu aux métamorphoses" (*Portraits littéraires*, III, 545); the one about the questions any critic must ask concerning any author, "on ne saurait s'y prendre de trop de façons et par trop de bouts pour connaître un homme, c'est-à-dire autre chose qu'un pur esprit..." (*Nouveaux Lundis*, III, 28); the 1866 letter to Zola about his own intricate nature, "je défie personne, excepté moi, de s'en tirer, d'en avoir la clef; encore se pourrait-il que si je voulais tout repasser nuance par nuance j'en donnasse ma langue aux chiens" (*Nouvelle Correspondance*, p. 229); the metaphor about the stream of criticism, "L'esprit critique est de sa nature facile, insinuant, mobile et compréhensif. C'est une grande et limpide rivière qui serpente et se déroule..." (*Joseph Delorme, pensées*, XVII). Now these are all relevant; the trouble is that they are all so striking, so memorable, so easily retained, that they become a convenient Sainte-Beuve canon, and it is simple and inexpensive to say "there he is"—and stop. The merit of Leroy is that while he uses these passages he preserves his independence of judgment, his eye is "innocent" as artists say, his approach fresh—and he goes on.

The best chapters, I think, are those on *L'Historien* (VI) and on *Le Naturaliste des Esprits* (VII). Leroy insists that Sainte-Beuve belongs as much to the century of Henri de Saint-Simon as to the century of Victor Hugo. With new and admirable methods, says Leroy, Sainte-Beuve "de-standardized" history (page 178), making it more true and more honest, and placing it where it belongs, under the aegis of "pluralism" (Leroy uses

1. Josephson is flagrantly inaccurate in his reference to Sainte-Beuve's "secret, posthumously printed journal, characteristically named by him 'My Poisons'" (page 157). The book was actually issued and *named*, a half century after Sainte-Beuve's death, by an unfriendly commentator, Victor Giraud.

this word somewhat as Thibaudet did in his *Réflexions sur la critique* with reference to all French literature of the nineteenth century, and also means something close to what Irving Babbitt called, regretfully, "the infinite otherwiseness of things"). Sainte-Beuve has shown the way for a historical scholarship "digne d'hommes travaillant scientifiquement avec le moins d'illusion possible sur le degré de créance que mériteront, pendant longtemps encore, leurs fragiles et discordantes certitudes" (page 184). No naïveté, no self-deception, and likewise no defeatism.

Leroy is the author of some thirty other volumes, mostly on legal, sociological and philosophical subjects, and as might be expected his *Sainte-Beuve*, like his *Taine* indeed (1933), is less expert on the literary-history side. He affirms (page 196) that Paul Hazard is right about Chateaubriand's indebtedness to other books only if we limit the observation to the "erudite" *Essai sur les révolutions*. But the issue is not about this *Essai*, as every one who has read Bédier and Chinard, and more of Paul Hazard, knows. Leroy is sometimes closer to the systematizing and asseverating ideologists, frequently mentioned in the book in their relation to Sainte-Beuve, than to the Sainte-Beuve whose finesse he admires rather than equals. Unlike the subject of his study and admiration he accumulates superlatives ("Sainte-Beuve a mis la plus frémissante sensibilité au service de la perspicacité la plus aiguë, de la plus impeccable mémoire," page 182); he favors words alien to Sainte-Beuve's critical vocabulary like *jamais* and *toujours;* he makes assertions that disconcert and tempers them when it is too late to reestablish his own credit. Sometimes he "solicits" a text, innocently but regrettably from the point of view of any reader who is trying to understand Sainte-Beuve. He quotes from *Port-Royal*: "Je suis assez profondément sceptique pour ne pas craindre par moments de paraître chrétien," and calls this (page 87) the most sceptical remark that ever came from human lips, but the immediate context in no way justifies this twisted interpretation.[2] Elsewhere he contributes italics of his own, which slightly distort. Sainte-Beuve would probably not accept some of the categories and compartments of Leroy, which suggest the simplifications of the social scientist. But all told Leroy's work seems to me sagacious and important; Sainte-Beuve emerges as much more than a critic in any narrow sense, as a moralist worthy of placing beside Montaigne (cf. pages 198, 229, 242)—and that is right.

HORATIO SMITH

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2. In the context Sainte-Beuve refers to himself as a "sceptique respectueux et contristé" and he has just written: "Entre Montaigne et Pascal, serré ici que nous sommes, toute ambiguïté cesse; lâchons le mot: rien n'est plus voisin d'un chrétien à certains égards qu'un sceptique, mais un sceptique mélancolique et qui n'est pas sûr de son doute" (*Port-Royal*, 3d ed., II, 420.)

The Epic in Nineteenth-Century France: A Study in Heroic and Humanitarian Poetry from 'Les Martyrs' *to* 'Les Siècles Morts'. By HERBERT J. HUNT. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1941. Pp. xiii + 446.

Ceux d'entre nous qui ont blanchi sous le harnois des comptes-rendus savent se défier d'une première impression... surtout quand elle est bonne. L'ouvrage de Mr. Hunt m'étant dès l'abord apparu d'une qualité exceptionnelle, j'ai éprouvé le besoin de le relire, à tête reposée. Et ma conviction est faite. Voilà, à mon sens, un modèle—imparfait certes, mais quel modèle ne l'est point?—de ce que devrait être un travail dit universitaire. Sujet neuf, illuminant les profondeurs. Documentation sinon exhaustive, du moins très poussée, et propre à satisfaire les plus exigeants.[1] Jugement lucide et sûr, qui gouverne la matière au lieu d'en être écrasé. Et brochant sur le tout, ce qui ne gâte rien, du style. La chose est d'autant plus digne de remarque que ce livre, publié à Oxford en 1941, a dû être achevé et imprimé au milieu de difficultés peu communes. Sa date, il lui arrive ici et là, mais, par bonheur, très rarement, de la porter sans particulière élégance: Mr. Hunt, j'imagine, regrette déjà en son cœur l'éloge à double entente qu'il décerne à Victor de Laprade, "[whose] sane and robust pacifism... stopped short of servile surrender to invading hordes".[2] Ailleurs, et presque partout à vrai dire, l'ouvrage se recommande à notre sympathie par sa fierté, sa générosité. Il constitue un témoignage précieux de l'activité intellectuelle de la Grande-Bretagne, de son attachement, en pleine guerre, aux disciplines libérales et à la recherche désintéressée. Et c'est aussi un hommage,—spontané, opportun, décisif,—que l'étranger vient rendre à cent ans de littérature et de pensée françaises.

Personne, je crois pouvoir m'en porter garant, ne sortira de cette lecture sans quelque soupçon que le XIX^e^ siècle français, autant et plus qu'aucun, mérite l'épithète de "grand". Parcourir le champ de l'épopée depuis *Les Martyrs* de Chateaubriand jusqu'aux *Siècles morts* d'André de Guerne, ce n'est pas seulement, en effet, ramasser un sujet négligé parmi d'autres sujets négligés et combler une lacune flagrante de l'histoire littéraire; c'est exalter l'époque et l'ennoblir. Tout âge justement orgueilleux de lui-même a revendiqué pour sa meilleure récompense la qualité épique. Le XIX^e^ siècle, par la bouche de ses écrivains et de ses artistes, s'en est constamment prévalu. Il est exact, du reste, qu'on la lui a chicanée, qu'on a préféré l'appeler "lyrique", neuf fois sur dix pour avoir le plaisir d'en conclure qu'il était malade et qu'il déraisonnait. En un sens, par conséquent, Mr. Hunt se propose sciemment de rétablir des comptes et de redresser une injustice. C'est bien pourquoi je ne lui ferai pas le compliment suspect d'avoir mené à bien une besogne fastidieuse. Qu'il ait à maintes reprises plié d'ennui

1. L'ouvrage comporte de très utiles appendices bibliographiques et un excellent index.
2. P. 259.

et de fatigue sous le poids de quelques centaines d'épopées en vers et en prose, pour une bonne part devenues illisibles aujourd'hui, qui en douterait? Mais enfin, si l'épopée fut de tout temps le genre-roi, le sommet incontesté des littératures, elle comporte ses rançons et n'a jamais, que je sache, passé pour une amusette. Cela va haut et remonte loin: *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*. La vérité pure et simple, c'est que nulle époque et nul pays n'eût frayé à Mr. Hunt des sentiers plus fleuris que ne font les auteurs et la période de son choix. Or donc, si fardeau il y a, je lui sais gré de l'endosser avec bonne humeur, d'oser même avouer qu'au total, son aventure lui a procuré jouissance et profit. Il me plaît qu'il ait au passage un mot indulgent pour *Le Dernier Homme* de Grainville, le *Satan* de Delpech ou *Le Monde antédiluvien* de Ludovic de Cailleux. J'aime qu'il ressuscite ces noms et ces œuvres ignorés. Et j'aime davantage encore que, bravant l'opinion des pseudo-gens de goût, il ne se défende pas d'admirer, avec toutes les réserves qui conviennent, l'inspiration apocalyptique de Ballanche dans sa *Vision d'Hébal* ou celle de Quinet dans *Ahasvérus*, de goûter en Banville autre chose qu'un clown, de faire place aux *Fossiles* de Louis Bouilhet, de louer la *Psyché* de Laprade ou *La Révélation de Jubal* de Léon Dierx. L'auteur,—écrit M. Gustave Rudler dans sa belle préface,—"s'est montré plus large que bien des critiques français pour nos poëtes de second plan. Ce n'est pas qu'il se contente à moins de frais... mais il se place au point de perspective d'où les mérites et les démérites apparaissent avec leurs valeurs compensatrices". On ne saurait mieux dire. Ajoutons que pareille ouverture d'esprit trouve sa pleine justification dans les résultats obtenus. Grâce à elle, nous mesurons l'effort, trop fébrile sans doute, mais prodigieusement inventif, qu'ont accompli les écrivains modernes pour remédier à la monotonie congénitale de l'épopée, pour la renouveler, l'assouplir, la fragmenter, la couler dans cent moules divers,—prose, verset, rhapsodie populaire, dialogue, "légende", sonnet. Et rien ne nous aide davantage à prendre la vraie toise de Victor Hugo, dont il ne s'agit plus, Dieu merci! de savoir si ce fut un imbécile, ou même un simple garde national épique, mais auquel Mr. Hunt peut appliquer, sans incongruité aucune, la formule de Baudelaire:

Le Poëte est semblable au Prince des nuées
Qui hante la tempête et se rit de l'archer.

Surtout, n'allez pas déduire de tout ceci que Mr. Hunt nous présente un panégyrique du XIX^{e} siècle. Si ses devoirs d'historien ne le lui interdisaient, il y aurait encore, pour l'en dissuader, une circonspection toute britannique, un appétit de sens commun qui ne s'accommode aisément ni des viandes creuses du romantisme, ni du brouet amer où nous convient les Parnassiens. Pour autant que j'en puisse juger, Mr. Hunt, très sensible aux valeurs esthétiques, reste, quant au fond, un pragmatiste de la meilleure tradition anglaise, à qui l'optimisme et le pessimisme métaphysiques ne disent rien

qui vaille. Ce sont là pourtant les nourritures insubstantielles dont le XIX[e] siècle a prétendu fortifier une œuvre paradoxale par son immensité même et par les beautés qu'elle contient, une œuvre qu'il faut bien appeler grandiose et qui fait honneur au courage malheureux. Tel est, réduit à l'essentiel, le verdict de Mr. Hunt. Trop simple pour ne pas prêter à discussion, il ne laisse pas d'être satisfaisant à sa manière, car il n'est pas entièrement, ni même essentiellement négatif. Le courage, malheureux ou non, est chose positive, et positif le tribut qui lui est offert. Si le calibre intellectuel d'une époque se mesure, non à la moisson de vérité ou d'erreur qu'elle nous apporte, mais au frisson qui la traverse, au sentiment d'urgence qu'elle éprouve en face des problèmes à résoudre, alors, la preuve est faite que la "crise de conscience" du siècle dernier dépasse en profondeur, en universalité et en richesse toutes celles dont le passé lui fournissait l'exemple.

Pour estimer à son juste prix la contribution de Mr. Hunt, il est utile, au demeurant, de se reporter à son premier essai, sa thèse de doctorat d'Université si je ne me trompe, écrite en français et qui s'intitule *Le Socialisme et le Romantisme en France: étude de la presse socialiste de 1830 à 1848*.[3] Cette œuvre de début témoignait encore de quelque gaucherie et n'a certes ni la vivacité, ni la tenue littéraire dont l'auteur se montre capable dès l'instant qu'il est seul maître de sa pensée et de sa langue. Mais c'était tout de même une œuvre solide, déjà originale par bien des côtés, et qui amorçait vigoureusement ses recherches futures. En mettant au clair les affinités du socialisme et du romantisme, ou bien la subtile manœuvre saint-simonienne, qui consista à emprunter la technique des enfants du siècle pour les convertir à la doctrine de l'art social, Mr. Hunt rencontrait sur sa route des personnages, des thèmes et des idées qui reparaissent en foule dans son travail sur l'épopée. Plus significative encore était sa conclusion que la littérature parnassienne et réaliste du Second Empire continue, sous des formes radicalement opposées, il est vrai, la croisade de l'âge précédent contre le juste-milieu et les "intérêts matériels":

> Pour quelle raison Flaubert et les Parnassiens méprisent-ils tant le romantisme humanitaire? C'est tout simplement que l'espoir a disparu de leurs cœurs. L'art social, dans le sens positif, c'est-à-dire l'art optimiste et phraseur, qui était supportable tant que l'utopie paraissait réalisable, était discrédité dès que la porte semblait définitivement fermée sur toute réorganisation sociale. "La Poésie, réalisée dans l'art, n'enfantera plus de vertus sociales," soupirait Leconte de Lisle en 1852. Tout en raillant l'art social et didactique, les Parnassiens gardaient au cœur l'idéal conçu avant 1848, mais cet idéal prenait la forme de la nostalgie des âges antiques, du mépris de la civilisation moderne, cruelle, mercanti'e, prosaïque, et du culte de la beauté formelle. Autrement dit, l'individualisme littéraire de 1830 a subi encore une transformation; après l'évanouissement du rêve

3. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1935, pp. x-400.

socialiste, il est redevenu ce qu'il était auparavant—une douleur et une rêverie intérieures, moins le laisser-aller et le lyrisme débordant de l'époque romantique.[4]

D'un ouvrage à l'autre, l'esquisse qu'on vient de lire a pris l'ampleur d'une véritable démonstration, où l'épopée sert de pierre de touche, mais qui vaudrait aussi, n'en doutez pas, pour la poésie lyrique ou le roman.

Il n'est guère possible, me semble-t-il, de quereller Mr. Hunt sur le point principal. L'inspiration du XIX[e] siècle, sa religion, faudrait-il dire, manifeste de bout en bout une sorte de continuité essentielle malgré la diversité de modes que lui impose le climat social et politique; elle n'est jamais ni tout à fait la même, ni tout à fait une autre, et résiste aux compartimentages dont les historiens de la littérature sont si friands. Sous ce rapport, ce n'est pas Victor Hugo, ce sont des poëtes de transition, tels Victor de Laprade ou Louis Ménard, qui constituent les cas d'espèce les plus probants. Quand décline le romantisme, Hugo, tempérament de granit, garde sa foi avec sa suprématie: *et s'il n'en reste qu'un...* Laprade et Ménard, natures plus vulnérables, après avoir sacrifié au mysticisme humanitaire, s'enfoncent, l'un dans une résignation médiévale, l'autre dans une songerie païenne qui, si découragées qu'elles soient, fléchissent la matière poétique dans des directions nouvelles. Le destin les a vraiment placés sur la crête de cette "voie royale" —l'image est de M. Rudler—que Mr. Hunt dégage à grands coups de cognée; qui débouche de l'illuminisme pré-révolutionnaire, traverse la palingénésie de Ballanche et le messianisme démocratique d'Edgar Quinet, puis dévale la pente du pessimisme positiviste et parnassien, pour aboutir, en définitive, à une échappée, à je ne sais quel pressentiment lointain de terre promise. Sully-Prudhomme est encore un de ces écrivains que Mr. Hunt tire de la pénombre, et c'est justice, car, dans les limites d'un talent strictement mesuré, ce tardif émule d'André Chénier dégage la morale de cent ans d'expérience, il apporte l'affirmation nécessaire d'une confiance qui ne veut pas mourir.

Et maintenant, ne nous dissimulons pas que ce paysage littéraire, moins figé que la plupart, est néanmoins un paysage "construit", j'entends par là, simplement et sans intention péjorative, une œuvre où la volonté de l'ouvrier introduit un élément arbitraire et personnel. Toute synthèse doit faire appel à un principe organisateur: c'est l'évidence même. Mr. Hunt, qui répugne, nous l'avons dit, aux catégories rigides des auteurs de manuels, adopte pour son compte des prémisses aussi peu compromettantes que possible, et n'aimerait rien tant que de laisser aux poëtes eux-mêmes la liberté et la responsabilité de leurs propres conceptions.[5] Il fait beau voir pourtant

4. *Le Socialisme et le Romantisme en France*, pp. 343-344.

5. Cf. p. 1: "I shall not look too closely into the claims of the numerous works I have to examine to be reckoned 'epic' in some way or other"; et p. 200: "More than ever it behooves us to be complacently vague about the definition of the genre we are studying".

comme le poursuivent les nécessités du discours, comme elles le chassent de tout retranchement par trop commode, le contraignent de choisir et d'exclure, de définir et de classer. Il s'exécute très crânement, du reste, et cela dès son sous-titre; mais, subissant la loi commune, il le fait à ses risques et périls. Partant de l'idée-mère que l'épopée moderne se caractérise beaucoup mieux par son contenu que par sa forme, il jette son dévolu sur l'épopée *humanitaire*, en d'autres termes sur celle dont l'humanité, souffrante ou militante, triomphante ou vaincue, fournit le thème fondamental, thème religieux et prophétique encore que généralement anti-chrétien, illustré parfois par d'humbles symboles, comme Jocelyn et les "pauvres gens", incarné le plus souvent dans la personne des grands chercheurs et des grands maudits, de Prométhée à Caïn, d'Orphée à Ahasvérus, sans oublier le plus prestigieux de tous,—Satan. Ainsi Mr. Hunt relègue-t-il à l'arrière-plan l'épopée narrative et pseudo-homérique, l'épopée de la nature, l'épopée scientifique, l'épopée nationale, ce qui s'accorde, à des degrés divers toutefois, insuffisamment précisés par lui, avec la réalité des faits. Ainsi néglige-t-il presque totalement,—et la chose me paraît plus grave,—la part de la légende impériale dans la représentation épique du Héros: non pas qu'il y ait lieu de s'arrêter aux poèmes napoléoniens proprement dits, qui sont médiocres, même le *Napoléon* d'Edgar Quinet;[6] mais n'est-il pas vrai que, dans le domaine littéraire comme dans le domaine politique, seul le mythe de l'Empereur se révèle de taille à faire concurrence au mythe de la démocratie, soit qu'il le combatte, soit qu'il tente de s'unir à lui? Et, pour finir, je me donnerai l'innocent plaisir de mettre Mr. Hunt en conflit plus ou moins ouvert avec lui-même. Si, comme il le prétend, les dehors de son sujet sont amorphes et confus, on voit mal ce qui l'empêcherait d'incorporer à son étude des œuvres "humanitaires" à substratum épique, comme les romans de Hugo, ceux de Zola,—voire même l'histoire de France de Michelet! Si, par contre, il a raison, comme je pense, de ne pas vouloir dissoudre à ce point la notion d'épopée, n'en faut-il pas augurer que la question de forme conserve tout de même son importance, que l'épopée n'a pas cessé d'être un *genre*, obéissant, sinon désormais à des règles fixes, en tout cas à de certaines exigences organiques qu'il ne nous est pas loisible de traiter légèrement?[7]

6. Hugo fait exception, cela va sans dire. Et il doit cependant quelque chose à Barthélemy et Méry, qu'il complimentait de la sorte (12 novembre 1828) a propos de leur *Bonaparte en Égypte:* "Tout [y] est magnifique: c'est intéressant comme un roman et grandiose comme une épopée. Vous avez élevé un monument à Napoléon, et c'est une pyramide d'Egypte".

7. Mr. Hunt est beaucoup trop averti pour n'en pas avoir conscience. Comme j'ai dit, son livre met en lumière,—accessoirement, il est vrai,—la richesse et la variété des formes que revêt l'épopée au XIX^{e} siècle; et l'on y trouve, à l'occasion, des phrases significatives de l'ordre que voici: "Though the epic in the course of its history has survived many and profound modifications, there is one characteristic which it cannot afford to lose: objectivity as to form and a certain stability in its underlying meaning. The subconscious... has no right of place in epic" (p. 238).

A Dieu ne plaise que je veuille prolonger ces observations vétilleuses. Ce sont là arguments de procédure, retouches et suggestions qui ne diminuent en rien le mérite extraordinaire de Mr. Hunt. Y insister, ce serait faire sien le point de vue étroit du protagoniste de *La Chartreuse de Parme,* qui, tapi dans son trou, n'observe de la bataille que ses incohérences et ses contradictions. Donnez-moi à tout coup la lorgnette et, mieux encore, le cerveau du général.

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Adolphe Retté: 1863-1930. By WILLIAM KENNETH CORNELL. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 303.

Adolphe Retté was a man of violent likes and dislikes. As Dr. Cornell brings out in this excellent study, along with the many causes Retté espoused fanatically, like anarchy, idealism, free verse, he had a sincere love of nature and, in addition, many pet aversions, including, at one time or another in his life, capitalism, militarism, nationalism, the Church, even the Lord Jesus, and, always, the Jews. But his *bête noire* was Mallarmé, whose disapproval of free verse, alleged poetic obscurity, paucity, and bad influence upon the symbolist school he could not brook. This circumstance reveals the temperament of the poet, and the tempo of his poetry, at least the second phase of it, for the first phase is not distinguishable from the common run of symbolist poetry. But in his second period, following the bent of his heart and the call of the countryside, he succeeded in writing a good deal of nature poetry in which may be found some of his best verses. Withal, its quality does not surpass that of an agreeable average.

His contributions to the theory and practice of poetry are unimportant. He himself pretends that his own "poèmes d'inspiration altruiste" contributed to bringing symbolism to its senses. But Dr. Cornell makes no such claim for him. The poet is fortunate, indeed, in his present biographer, whom an understanding spirit has led straight to the heart and mind of his subject. Dr. Cornell comments Retté's poetry with authority, analyzing its form and substance with skill and discrimination, commending what are to him "lyric effort" in one book, "powerful lines" in another, stylistic virility, imagery, and epithets here and there, recognizing "faults of triviality" when he sees them, or declaring, as in the case of *Thulé des Brumes,* that he is "embarrassed to say what its merits are." But the failing in such a case is with the poet, not the critic. Dr. Cornell makes a good case for the adequacy of Retté's artistic equipment to his inspiration; but it is evident also that neither was of the highest order. For he was a well-intentioned but unoriginal poet, an unskilled novelist, and a biased critic.

However, he extracted enough substance from both his poetic and religious experiences to write at least two vivid books, one his memoirs of his symbolist years, the other the story of his conversion. Unfortunately for him, too, he and his Muse had already become estranged at the most interesting period in his life, and so, unlike a Claudel or Le Cardonnel, he could not express his new faith in poetry. Afterwards he turned hagiographer; but this phase of his work belongs to the rue Saint-Sulpice rather than to literature.

Regarding Retté's religious life, his mystic and visionary virtues, and writings, Dr. Cornell speaks with sympathy and insight. But he declares in conclusion that the life he has portrayed is "an example of the idealist in the twentieth century," and this is an exaggeration. Retté was a minor poet and a repentant anarchist who became a zealous convert, but one whose political credo chimed in with that of the militant *Action française*, anti-democratic, anti-republican, and even anti-liberal Catholic. He was an "idealist" of a very special kind then, one whose philosophy ran counter to the general trend of twentieth century idealism.

Both Providence and posterity have been kind to him. The former saved him from himself; the latter shelters his literary destiny now in a dissertation that does credit to him as well as to its author, Dr. Cornell.

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Les Adverbes en -ment compléments d'un verbe en français moderne; Etude de classement syntaxique et sémantique. Par HANS NILSSON-EHLE. Lund-Copenhague, Etudes Romanes de Lund III, 1941. Pp. 244.

The excellence of the dissertations prepared in the philological workshop of the University of Lund is well known the world over, yet, even measured by their high standards, the book under review takes rank as an unusually conscientious piece of work. The reader is most favorably impressed by the abundance of information, the originality of thought, and the consistency of method, and realizes that the author has spent many years of concentrated labor on the solution of his problem. The advisers of Dr. Nilsson-Ehle were the late F. Walberg as well as A. Lombard and C. Bruneau. Although to each of them tribute is given for his share in guiding the author, those familiar with the writings of these scholars will not fail to recognize the independence and maturity of judgment shown in the work of their disciple. Particularly striking is the difference of approach between Professor Lombard, always insistent upon the stylistic aspect of syntax and interested in connections between language and literature, and Dr. Nilsson-Ehle, unwilling, as a strict logician, to go beyond an impeccably neat semantic

classification of a given phenomenon and thus, as to method, closest perhaps to C. R. S. Collin.

After discussing and discarding as superficial previous attempts to classify the adverbs in *-ment*, the author expounds his own theory. In his opinion, the adverbs fall into three large groups, according as they convey a basic idea of quality, of quantity, or of relation. Within each group, further subdivisions are introduced on the ground of accessory or implicit ideas contained either in the adverb or in the verb specified by it or resulting from their combination. Thus, a qualitative adverb can relate to the verb exclusively (*elle allait lentement*), but it can involve reference to the subject (*ils en parlèrent craintivement*) or to the object (*il traînait lourdement ses phrases*), as well. If the adverb qualifies the verb alone, it is a matter of importance whether it illustrates an idea of process (*il dit très distinctement*) or whether a notion of substance, quality or relation is inherently or incidentally implied in the verb (*on mangeait parfaitement; ce lac précieusement nuancé; elle a merveilleusement compris la situation).* Then again, the idea of process proper varies according as to whether one has in view an action, a development, or a state, and these nuances reflect ultimately on the rôle of the adverb in the given sentence. By applying this subtle functional analysis to each case with equal thoroughness, the author eventually builds up a rather intricate system including all direct and indirect references that can possibly be detected in an adverb. There are a few cases in which one may disagree with the proposed classification, but on the whole one is tempted to subscribe to the principle of distinguishing between primary and subsidiary functions, which allows for considerable flexibility of interpretation.

Without wishing to detract in the least from the extraordinary merits of this study, one may venture objections to three procedures followed therein. There seems to be little wisdom in limiting the field of a fundamentally semantic investigation to a single pattern of adverbs characterized by the use of a formative element: the monograph would have gained both in comprehensiveness and consistency by the inclusion of all varieties of adverbs. Then, there seems to be no valid excuse for the rigid exclusion of poetical texts from the source material. Conclusive proof of the advisability of this elimination, as practiced by some syntacticians on the score of the allegedly archaic or artificial nature of poetical style, has never been and can not be produced, and this attitude of the author seems related to his unsatisfactory treatment of problems of rhythm. Finally, while carefully determining the function of the adverb as to its logical tie with the rest of the sentence, the author displays a curious lack of interest in the effect produced by, or the weight incident to, the given adverb. This attitude certainly is inappropriate in a study based in its entirety on literary texts marked by the tendency of having the adverb, as every other element, serve definite artistic

purposes. As a result of these inadequacies, some minor phases of the problem have been overlooked or distorted.[1]

The author mentions the case when an adverb seems to refer directly to a substantive: *un pourcentage étonnant de penseurs intensément* (page 14), dismissing this construction as unusual without attempting to offer any explanation. Two circumstances seem to account for the genesis of this sequence. On the one hand, certain monosyllabic adverbs have long since been associated with nouns when assuming a subsidiary pronominal function: *cet homme-ci, cette femme-là.* Modern style, striving for utmost condensation and striking effects, has used that junction as a device for the transposal of larger adverbial groups to the nominal domain. Thus, in Claudel's *Cantate à trois voix,* one runs across: *ils regardent au-dessus d'eux passer les nuages superbes et ces grandes îles en triomphe* (page 64); *fer en vain dans une fausse moisson* (page 70); *ne suis-je point autre chose que... ce poids un instant sur ta couche* (page 91). Obviously, for such groups adverbs in *-ment* can easily be substituted. On the other hand, the *style recherché* makes ample use of twisted word-order, so as to call attention to a word grammatically subordinate, but laden with emotionalizing power by transferring it from the place where it logically belongs to another place, where its appearance is certain to provoke surprise.[2] This principle, applied to the adverb, can again be illustrated from Claudel: *Tout là-bas ... une naïve petite étoile tendrement qui dit: Ne m'oubliez pas* (page 87) instead of: **qui dit tendrement. Ah, qui me rendra la patrie, et cette mer de blé obscurément, plus paisible que la soie, qui déferlait à mes pieds dans la nuit de juillet* (page 47), instead of: **qui déferlait obscurément à mes pieds.*[3] In these cases, the adverb, forcibly severed from the respective verb, is attached to a substantive, from which it is separated rhythmically only by a short pause. These two influences must have been strong enough to allow ultimately for such bold combinations as *penseurs intensément,* and the intermediate link may well have been a hybrid formation like the substantivated infinitive, as present in: *Ah, que je revoie encore ce visage caressant et fermé ... et ce sourire lentement sur ses lèvres, terrible à voir* (Claudel, *op. cit.,* page 48).

The author seems unwilling to discuss such phases of the problem as broaden out into the field of word-order, on the assumption that from the sequence of words no conclusive statements can be made on the functional

1. Thus one can hardly concur with the somewhat cryptic explanations offered, pp. 80-85. The attempt to account, in terms of logic, for designedly irrational statements could not but prove unsuccessful.

2. See Eugen Lerch, *Historische Französische Syntax,* III, 360 ss.

3. Other examples from Claudel include: *Déjà se mêlent les roses rouges et blanches, en un seul bouquet confusément une fois encore composé* (page 80); *orchestres opposés, dont le vent faible étrangement tour à tour unissait et divisait les cuivres* (page 51); *ces eaux qui ... s'amortissent en trois replis paresseusement l'un sur l'autre plus gras que la feuille de menthe* (page 61).

character of the adverbs involved. He argues (page 16) that, while a sentence-modifier should invariably precede the whole enunciation, this element, in reality, happens to be found at almost any place in the sentence; accordingly, the criterion of position is summarily discarded. This analysis appears over-simplified. Recent studies on word-order in French help us to appraise the conflicting forces that seem to clash in each individual case.[4]

In most cases, the adverb is a word-modifier referring wholly or partly to the verb. Hence, its natural place in the sentence is closest to the verb, either following it: *cette parole s'est dressée lumineusement devant moi*, or going so far as to disrupt it: *il a longuement examiné les yeux de la jeune fille*. This predominant sequence has developed into an accentual and grammatical pattern, into which the adverb is squeezed occasionally even when referring to the whole sentence, or primarily to the subject or object, and only concomitantly to the verb. This situation, then, cautions against carelessness in determining the logical function of the adverb rhythmically knit into a unit with the respective verb. However, any other position, achieved at the heavy cost of deviation from firmly established traditions, would point *a fortiore* to the weakening of the bonds that logically link the adverb to the verb, and to the presence of new factors that warrant this splitting.

A case in point, for instance, is the *rejet*. Logically, an adverb isolated by punctuation marks symbolic of rhythmical suspension and withheld from the auditor until the last moment can, as usual, refer to the whole sentence, or the verb alone, or the verb and the subject at once. Its function appears normal, but its "value" certainly is not, since it gathers increased strength from the new position and appears more independent and emphatic. This phenomenon can be studied in Verhaeren's *Les Villes tentaculaires*: *Sur la bière de sapin blanc qui se rapproche, avec des gens dolents par les routes silencieusement* (page 191). Repeatedly, the isolation of an adverb occurs in the middle of a sentence. Grammatically, this procedure is justified only in enumerations such as: *Et, s'ils comptent, c'est par centimes, péniblement, leur dénûment* (page 196). The coordination is much looser in: *Par le chemin de ronde, qui fait dans la détresse et dans la nuit, immensément, le tour du monde* (page 93). The next step is an adverb preceded by a pause although it represents merely the introductory element of the whole series: *Morceaux de chair fixée, ingénieusement, pièce par pièce, étage par étage* (page 107); *des veuves en qui les larmes pleuvent, continûment, depuis des ans* (page 125). Finally, isolation of an adverb has been resorted to for the sheer pleasure of achieving stylistic effects as in: *Leurs socs taillèrent des cailloux, férocement, des terrains roux* (page 190). These examples tend to show that, irrespective of the given function, French, as a vehicle of literary thought, permits shortening or lengthening the distance between the

4. See the comprehensive survey in Hunter Kellenberger, *The Influence of Accentuation on French Word Order*, Paris-Princeton, Elliott Monographs 30, 1932, pp. 3-17.

adverb and the word or group of words modified by it. If this is so, measurement of the distance and determination of the degree of isolation attainable are problems deserving the closest attention of the linguist.

In the last analysis, the monograph of Dr. Nilsson-Ehle may prove a more conspicuous contribution to general linguistics than to the study of French proper. To achieve complete success in the latter domain, the author should have realized that, once he had shifted emphasis from the history to the present day stage of the language, the only scale of comparison left for critical evaluation of the functions of the adverb was confrontation of French with other contemporary language systems. In other words, the approach should have been static and comparative at once. This possibility the author failed to exploit adequately. What, for instance, follows from the fact that French, like English, requires adjunction of a monosyllabic suffix (*-ment*, reduced to two phonemes: *-mã*) to the adjective to derive the adverb, while Spanish is in need of as many as two auxiliary syllables to achieve the same effect and Russian and German, in striking contrast, are satisfied with an adverb coinciding, in its outside appearance, with one of the forms of the adjective? The more complicated the procedure involved in producing an adverb, the greater, one is inclined to expect, is the reluctance, both in ordinary speech and in elaborate writing, to use the standard form of the adverb—hence the eagerness to develop competitive syntactic types. Students of Spanish have been impressed by the frequency of such periphrastic constructions as *recriminar con acritud, saludarse con afecto, sostener con agudeza, sonreír con amabilidad, sollozar con amargura, preguntarse con ansiedad, comer con avidez, oír con calma, expresarse con claridad,* prepositional groups replacing ordinary adverbs in *-mente*, which a speaker of German would, without hesitation, translate by: *heftig vorwerfen, sich herzlich begrüssen, scharfsinnig behaupten, liebenswürdig lächeln, bitter schluchzen, sich ängstlich fragen, gierig essen, ruhig anhören, sich klar ausdrücken;* the reaction of a Russian would be very similar. French seems to stand about midway between these two extremes, and it might be worthwhile to bestow some pains on locating its exact position. That could be done, in part, by accurate comparison of the constructions found in writers like Rolland and Proust with the equivalents substituted by their expert translators into Spanish (J. R. Jiménez, P. Salinas) rather than by one-sided concentration on monolingual texts.

Although the study of Dr. Nilsson-Ehle hardly can be looked upon as exhaustive, his contribution remains very remarkable indeed. May the hope be voiced that he find it possible to engage in further research along similar lines and that Sweden, one of the traditional homelands of Europe's humanistic culture, continue to produce scholars of this calibre.

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Bibliographical Guide to Materials on American Spanish. By MADALINE W. NICHOLS. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 114.

Edited for the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies—which also sponsors the annual *Handbook of Latin American Studies*—this bibliographical guide constitutes the first extensive compilation of "materials on American Spanish." The descriptive notes which accompany each of the 1201 items listed and the starring of those deemed most useful by the advisory editors—Professors Amado Alonso, Hayward Keniston and Tomás Navarro—render this bibliography especially helpful to those not thoroughly familiar with the subject matter. The compiler rightly laments the lack of sufficient and systematic study of this important phase of the evolution of the Spanish language.

The bibliography lists, besides the many "avocationists," the scholars, not too numerous, who in the last decade or two have approached this study with the zeal, the preparation, the competence and the method so essential for these philological pursuits. Notable among them are Amado Alonso and Pedro Henríquez Ureña whose publications have done so much to enrich the bibliography on American Spanish.

In a preliminary section on official philological organizations, Miss Nichols lists the various language Academies and Institutes, with the date of their founding, publications, and other pertinent data. Of the four Philological Institutes listed (Instituto de Estudios Superiores, Sección de Filología y Fonética Experimental, Montevideo; Instituto de Filología, Buenos Aires; Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Lingüísticas, México; Instituto Superior de Lingüística y Filología de la Universidad de San Marcos, Lima) the oldest, and by far the most important, is that of Buenos Aires, founded in 1923, which since 1927 has been under the direction of the eminent philologist Amado Alonso. It has published a series of excellent linguistic studies, and two important reviews: *Boletín del Instituto de Filología* (discontinued in 1927) and the *Revista de Filología Hispánica* now in its third year of publication.

In the bibliography proper the materials which treat of American Spanish in general are listed first, then those that deal with the linguistic peculiarities of the various Spanish American countries and that section of the United States known as "the Spanish Southwest." Each section, in turn, is subdivided into General studies and Studies on specific topics, such as Lexicography and Semantics, Morphology and Syntax, Orthography, Phonetics, Dictionaries and Vocabularies, Studies on individual words, Influence of other languages, Toponimia, Flora and Fauna.

A general survey based on the items listed for each country reveals that the more active philological centers, or those that have inspired wider study, are: Argentina (194 items), Chile (158), and Mexico (130). Yet the

activity of other countries, in recent years, is also manifest. There has been in many cases a marked awakening of national consciousness, and a definite attempt to study national problems, linguistic peculiarities, folklore, local music—the frame-work of the so-called "regional" and "social" literature so prevalent in contemporary Spanish American letters.

The book offers a wealth of material, well presented and ably organized. The classification is simple and clear, and follows well-known patterns. There are cross-references whenever needed, and an author-index facilitates the finding of any specific book. The omisssions are few—some due, perhaps, to the selective nature of the Guide. But the following (especially in the sections on toponymy) may be noted: E. Amador, *Nombres indígenas todavía en uso en el Estado de Zacatecas*, Zacatecas, 1897; O. Araujo, "Significado de la voz 'Uruguay'," *Anales de Instrucción Primaria*, Montevideo, v (1900), 762-767; R. Ardissone, "Apuntes de toponomástica de la ciudad de Buenos Aires," *Humanidades*, La Plata, vi (1923), 299-309; J. I. de Armas, *Orígines del lenguaje criollo*, Habana, 1882; W. C. Barnes, *Arizona Place-Names*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1935, 503 pp. (University of Arizona Bulletin, vi); A. M. Carreño y E. Martínez Sobral, *La lengua castellana en Méjico, Discurso de recepción en la Academia Mejicana*, Méjico, 1925; C. Carrillo y Ancona, *Estudio filológico sobre el nombre de América y el de Yucatán*, Mérida de Yucatán, 1890; B. Caviglia, *La etimología del nombre 'Montevideo.' Pistas y sugestiones para rastrearla en un primitivo, "Mõt, vj, di,"* Montevideo, Imp. "El Siglo Ilustrado," 1925, 69 pp.; C. Cucchetti "¿Por qué Buenos Aires se llama Buenos Aires?," *Criterio*, Buenos Aires, viii (1935), 302-303; F. Ibarra de Anda, *Geonimia indígena mexicana o nombres geográficos indígenas de México*, México, Imp. Mundial, 1932, 114 pp.; T. F. Jiménez, *Toponimia arcaica de El Salvador*, San Salvador, Edit. Diario La Prensa, 1936, 124 pp.; J. Jiménez Borja, "El aporte peruano indígena en la formación del español," *Letras*, Lima, 1er. cuatrimestre de 1937, 38-50; *Moreno's Dictionary of Spanish-named California Cities and Towns*, compiled and edited by H. M. Moreno, San Luis Obispo, Cal., 1916, 95 pp.; A. S. Pedreira, "De los nombres de Puerto Rico," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, New York, i (1928), 18-33 [Reprinted in Pedreira's book *Aristas*, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1930, pp. 182-216]; M. Rejón García, *Etimologías mayas: Los nombres de varias poblaciones yucatecas; Algo sobre su origen*, Mérida, 1910; M. Rodríguez, *Toponimia de la costa patagónica y fueguina*, Buenos Aires, Coni, 1940; J. N. Rovirosa, *Nombres geográficos del Estado de Tabasco, Estudio etimológico, Datos para un Diccionario etimológico tabasqueño chiapeneco*, México, 1888; R. L. Roys, "Place names of Yucatan," *Maya Research*, ii (1935), 1-10; W. F. Stirling, "Castellano uruguayo (Uruguayan Spanish)," *Le Maître Phonétique*, liv, 1939, 28-30; G. L. Trager and G. Valdez, "English Loans in Colorado Spanish," *American Speech*, xii (1937), 34-44; N. Van de Grift Sán-

chez, *Spanish and Indian Place-Names of California, their meaning and their romance*, San Francisco, A. M. Robertson, 1914, 1922; L. O. Wright and S. L. Robe "Final consonant plus N-glide in Jalisco, México," *MLN*, LIV (1939), 439-442; L. O. Wright, "The Indicative Forms in "-ra" in Spanish America," *Hispania*, IX (1926), 288-293.

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A History of the Romantic Movement in Spain. By E. ALLISON PEERS. Cambridge, The University Press, 1940. Pp. xxvi + 349, xii + 470.

The appearance of Professor Peers' long awaited history of Spanish romanticism is an event of prime importance to Hispanic scholarship. During the many years that it has been in preparation a great number of preliminary studies—actually forty articles and four books—have been published by the author, alone or in collaboration with students and colleagues, on the leading figures of the movement, the principal streams of influence upon it, and the most important organs that gave it voice. The present work is more than a synthesis of these studies. It is an integrated account of the growth, ripening and decay of the movement. And to the extent that it studies the background from which romanticism sprung, on the one hand, and the literary fashions which displaced and followed it on the other, it is in fact a history of Spanish literature from the beginning of the nineteenth century to our own time with special emphasis upon the years between 1830 and 1860.

Professor Peers believes that, because until now no detailed study of the history of the romantic movement has been made, a number of false assumptions concerning it have become firmly rooted in the minds of literary critics and historians. These assumptions it is his purpose to correct. His book has, therefore, the tone less of exposition than of argument. His theories concerning the genesis, the extent, and the decline of the movement become theses—which he must support against opposition.

Briefly stated his theses are: first, that Spanish romanticism was largely a native product, that it owed its beginnings less to foreign influences than has been generally believed, that even during the years of its greatest vogue indigenous literary products were dominant over French imports and that what remained of its spirit after the "movement" as such was over was essentially and peculiarly Spanish; second, that the romantic movement in Spain was never a cohesive entity, that it was of briefer duration than has been assumed, that there never was a romantic "triumph" and that of the two generally recognized phases of the movement—the "revolt" and the "revival"—the "revolt" collapsed first; third, that romanticism failed in

Spain because in the first place there was no clear understanding of what it was and because in the second place it lacked a leader; and, finally, that Spanish romanticism was superseded at the very moment when it had reached its climax by a self-conscious movement called "electicism" with a definite program and literary philosophy—that of the *justo medio* between classic and romantic—and a competent spokesman—Mesonero Romanos.

In support of his belief in the indigenous origins of Spanish romanticism Professor Peers discusses its antecedents in the literature of preceding centuries. Even before the Golden Age he finds in the romances of chivalry "incoherence, emotionalism, subjectivity, melancholy ... battle, murder and sudden death" enough to please the most ultra-romantic of a later day. In the Golden Age itself he discovers romantic traits not only in the "flowery and starry *autos*" of Calderón, who ever since Schlegel's time has been acknowledged as "in all circumstances, and compared with all other dramatic poets, the most romantic", but in Lope's spontaneity and freshness of imagination, in the mystics' impatience with restraint, in the *Celestina*'s mingling of sublime and grotesque, in Don Quixote's aspirations to the unattainable goal of an ideal, in Quevedo's extravagances and dreams, and even in Góngora. In the eighteenth century he finds a true precursor of the later romantics in Meléndez Valdés and romantic characteristics in other poets of the Salamancan and of the Sevillian school. He believes that by the end of this century the two aspects which the romantic movement was to assume could be clearly discerned—the revolt in the form of the *comedias de magia* and other non-literary dramas, the revival in the *refundiciones* of the plays of the Golden Age. That it took another thirty years for the movement to mature was due to political events—the Napoleonic invasion and the reign of Ferdinand, *el tirano de las letras*. It was due also, Professor Peers believes, to an inherent debility in the movement itself.

Just how much foreign influences contributed to bringing about its eventual appearance it is impossible to assess. It is to these influences that Professor Peers has devoted some of the most important of his preliminary studies, whose data and conclusions concerning the role played not only by the major figures—Chateaubriand, Scott, Ossian, Young, Gray and Manzoni —but by such lesser lights as Gessner, E. T. A. Hoffmann and Abel Hugo he has here assembled. If in spite of the number of references to these men which he has diligently exhumed from the files of contemporary periodicals, the little read prefaces to early editions of the romantics' works, and the catalogues of booksellers, Professor Peers is still inclined to disparage a belief in their importance as an initiating influence on the movement, the present reviewer, whose knowledge of the subject is far more superficial than his, must yield to his opinion. The same is true concerning Professor Peers' estimate of the influence of Hugo and Dumas and the lesser French dramatists Ducange, Soulié, Delavigne, etc. on the Spanish stage during the

years 1834-1837 when romantic drama was at its height. He believes that this influence was less profound than has generally been assumed, although his own carefully compiled evidence of the frequency of performance, the number of translations and the amount of critical attention given to the plays of these men might at first glance persuade the reader to the opposite opinion. Professor Peers is careful to distinguish between "vogue" and "genuine literary influence", but in the case of Dumas he admits even such direct influence upon Larra, Bretón de los Herreros and García Gutiérrez.

Professor Peers' second group of theses are concerned with the structure and duration of the movement. No one, probably, will dispute his assertions that romanticism in Spain was an amorphous phenomenon and that it cannot fairly be called a "school" at all. It was in the nature of romanticism to lack organization and Spanish romanticism, more than that of the rest of Europe, lacked program makers. Professor Peers has done more than any other scholar to dig out from prefaces and periodicals what the spokesmen of the romanticists wrote about their literary philosophy. It is little enough; certainly too little to form a body of doctrine for any school. But because of the very amorphousness and lack of cohesion of the movement it is difficult to set definite limits to its duration. Professor Peers seeks a way out of this dilemma by limiting the "revolt" to the years 1834-1840 and by leaving the period of the "revival" indeterminate. He is very insistent, however, that even in the most romantic triad of years—1834-1837—there was no such thing as a "triumph" since in all genres works of non-romantic type were being produced in Madrid and the provinces. Perhaps he is justified in demanding a complete annihilation of all competitors before a "triumph" can be claimed, but not all critics will be equally meticulous in their use of the word and they will continue to speak of the day when, in Mesonero's words, "the new sect of Hugolaters dominated the whole line from one end of the republic of letters to the other" as a *bona fide* "triumph."

Of the reasons for the failure of romanticism in Spain Professor Peers stresses most its unfortunate lack of a leader. Those who might have led it, he finds, either died early or deserted to other creeds. Perhaps this is not chance, but the inevitable fate of such a movement. For the romanticism of the thirties with its disdain for the immediate past, its extravagances, its love of thrills, its impatience with the world of reality, its passion and its despair was in a very real sense a literary "youth movement." The "pure" romantic always dies young. Those who survive until the blood runs cooler in their veins either consciously compromise and become "eclectics" or gradually and unwittingly change their point of view and their manner of expression.

This seems to the reviewer to be the rather obvious explanation of the apparent triumph of eclecticism after the climax of the romantic vogue. He does not feel that Professor Peers has quite proved its right to be called a

self-conscious movement. He thinks that Mesonero as editor of the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* may have adopted an eclectic policy not as a result of any literary philosophy, but for the same reason which impels the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* to publish in the same issue works by William Faulkner and Ogden Nash. If eclecticism triumphed and still dominates the literary scene it may be only in the sense that compromise always wins out and the middle of the road is the safest place to travel. The real history of thought is the record of less cautious "schools." In Spain the next great period of literary activity was ushered in, not by the eclectics, but by the realists, to whom Professor Peers does scant justice.

Professor Peers' last chapter discusses the course of Spanish literature since 1860 and shows the persistence of the romantic spirit down to the present day. It points out the "pure" but delayed romanticism of Bécquer, Rosalía de Castro and Echegaray. But many of the qualities which it calls "romantic" in other writers of this later period have little or nothing to do with the romanticism of the men of the thirties and their predecessors. Trueba and Palacio Valdés, for example, are romantic in that they are idealists! The fact is that "romantic" has become such common verbal coin that it has lost much of its value and constant and precise definition is necessary to save it from becoming entirely debased.

No slight doubts as to the justice of some of Professor Peers' conclusions, however, should in any way detract from our grateful recognition of the extraordinary service rendered. His book is a treasure house of hitherto unavailable material on the neglected years of the nineteenth century. It is rich in significant quotations from obscure contemporary sources, in previously unassembled data on lesser authors of the period as well as on the leading figures. One can find in it resumés of half-forgotten works which to other historians have been known by title only, summaries of enlightening newspaper editorials which have lain unread for decades. It lacks only the comprehensive bibliography of the movement which Professor Peers has promised shall one day appear as Volume III to make its usefulness complete. It is an achievement from which all students of Spanish literature can profit and in which they can take pride.

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The Poética *and* Apéndices *of Martínez de la Rosa: Their Genesis, Sources and Significance for Spanish Literary History and Criticism.* By JAMES F. SHEARER. Princeton Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 135.

The *Poética* of Martínez de la Rosa, which went through at least a dozen editions in its day, is now one of those numerous works far more often

mentioned that read. Dr. Shearer has taken the trouble to reexamine it thoroughly. If his findings are not strictly new, they at least modify and considerably supplement previously held opinions. For one thing, he shows that the *Poética* is a mosaic of past theories, owing much more to Horace, Aristotle and to Spanish theoreticians than to Boileau. One of Dr. Shearer's main points is that the *Anotaciones* and *Apéndices*, neglected by most critics except possibly Menéndez Pelayo, are really more significant than the *Poética* itself, that they constitute an effort on the part of the author to write a survey and a defense of Spanish poetry. In a valuable Appendix of his own (pages 111-128), Dr. Shearer gives a tabular analysis of the work of Martínez under discussion, with sources for each section. I think Dr. Shearer successfully demonstrates the importance of the *Anotaciones* and *Apéndices*, which in extent (a total of 936 pages!) quite engulf the little *Poética* itself (only 76 pages).[1] He is quite right, too, in stressing Martínez' literary-patriotic preoccupation, his attempt "to justify Spanish literary practice in the light of neo-classic doctrines" (page 109).[2] The moderate attitude of Martínez was to triumph after the brief and incomplete dominance of the Romanticism which he himself helped to introduce.

The most interesting section of Dr. Shearer's study is Chapter VI (pages 83-108), in which he considers Martínez' other works in the light of the *Poética*. He finds that there is less conflict between *La conjuración de Venecia* and *Aben Humeya*, for example, and the *Poética*, than has commonly been stated.

Dr. Shearer comments (page 32) on the lack of a specific canto, among the six comprising the *Poética*, on lyric poetry, so important in Spanish literature at all periods. His statement might leave a false impression, though it is quite true that Martínez de la Rosa was more concerned with the drama. In Canto III (*De la Versificación*), Martínez says,[3] speaking of the aspiring poet:

Si pinta a la apacible Primavera,
Aspira a remedar con el sonido
Del arroyuelo el plácido murmullo,
Del cordero el balido
Y de amorosa tórtola el arrullo,

and more in this canto would apply to the lyric. In Canto IV (*De la Indole Propia de Varias Composiciones*), the author speaks at some length of the Eclogue, the Ode, the Elegy, the "tierno Madrigal," the Sonnet ("ya festivo, ya tierno, ya sublime"), the "amorosa Letrilla," the "Canción," and in the *Anotaciones* he quotes at length compositions which are completely lyric.

1. Martínez de la Rosa was an indefatigable writer of prefaces, prologues, introductions, notes and appendices and most of his works are liberally supplied with them.
2. See F. Courtney Tarr, *Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey*, Liverpool, 1939.
3. *Obras*, Paris, 1827, I, 32.

In fact, the notes and illustrations for Canto IV (160 pages) are longer than for any other.

This doctoral dissertation appears in lithoprint and the number of misprints is distressing. The numerous cleft infinitives, which may upset purists, cannot be blamed on the typist. If Dr. Shearer's style is not sprightly, neither is that of Martínez de la Rosa. All in all, this study shows the results of sound investigation, carried on with diligence and success.

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